

VOTES FOR WOMEN

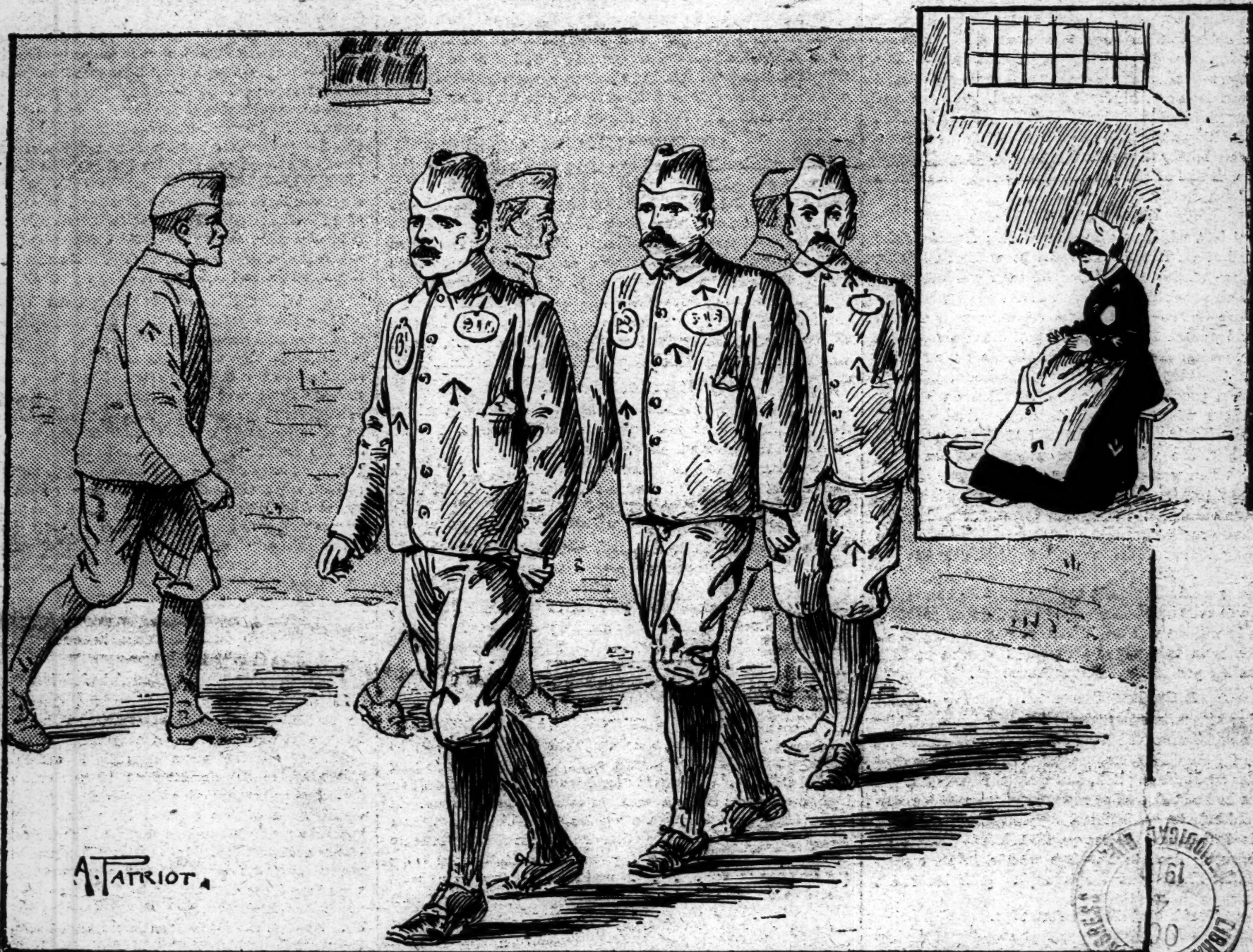
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IMITATION IS THE SINCEREST FLATTERY.



"If a dozen Labour M.P.s, followed by a dozen Trade Union Secretaries, will defy the law even at the risk of going to gaol, we shall soon have a settlement of the question."

—Mr. James Sexton on the Osborne Judgment.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

An exceedingly interesting light has been thrown on the value of militant methods by the announced intention of certain Trade Union leaders to defy the law in the matter of the Osborne judgment. It will be remembered that by that judgment the Law Lords decided that it was illegal to use Trade Union funds for political purposes. The Trade Union leaders say that this decision is contrary to public

feeling and must be immediately reversed by fresh legislation, and as they find the Government averse to prompt action they propose to force their hand by deliberate defiance of the law, thereby exposing themselves to imprisonment for contempt of court.

Prepared to go to Prison.

Thus we find Mr. Harvey, M.P., one of the miners' representatives, saying, "we shall use our money as we like, and we will take the consequences." Mr. Sexton, of the dockers, was still more explicit, saying, "if a dozen Labour M.P.s, followed by a dozen Trade Union Secretaries, will defy the law even at the risk of going to gaol, we shall soon have a settlement of the question." Mr. Smillie, of the miners, said that he sincerely hoped that the workers of this country were prepared now to defy the law and not to wait till the General Election. They would not be exercising all possible pressure, he added, unless they threatened to turn the Government out if they refused to assist in having the Osborne judgment reversed. Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., put the matter concisely, saying he had advised his association to defy an injunction, and they had decided to accept his advice. The Law Lords had said, "whether your rules permit it or not, what you are doing is *ultra vires*;" he was prepared to take the risk and consequences of defying the law.

What the "Daily News" thinks of it.

Remembering the criticisms of the Liberal press on the militant methods of the Suffragettes and their denunciation of them as "putting back the hands of the clock," we were interested to read in the leading article of the *Daily News*

on Friday last its views on this militant pronouncement of Trade Unionists:—

There was some talk yesterday of defying the law, and responsible men gave it to be understood that they would themselves break the injunctions so as to get committed to prison for contempt of court. If that were done by even a few of the members of Parliament the effect on the rank and file might be very considerable. No-body of men or women sees unmoved its leaders sent to gaol, and when the course of action for which they are punished is one which has been pursued amid general approval for over forty years, and owes its present illegality entirely to a sudden discovery by the courts of justice, the ground for resentment is peculiarly ready. One way or the other, we may be pretty sure that the agitation endorsed at yesterday's Congress will become, before it has ended, a very much bigger thing than it is, and will force itself upon the attention of politicians as one of the leading issues.

And "P.W.W." in the same paper on Wednesday makes it quite clear that the Government are very seriously perturbed by the situation. "The statement of the miners," he says, "that they will, if need be, defy the judgment could hardly be welcome to a Government responsible for upholding law and order." He then discusses a proposal that as an alternative to sending the leaders to prison, the Government could sequester the funds of the Union, and he adds that this would be regarded as gravely provocative and that "the Government would not long survive the struggle."

Why Militant Methods are Necessary.

We take no sides on the Osborne judgment, and we express no opinion as to whether its reversal is desired by the electorate or not, but the whole matter illustrates the fact that the Government to-day are undoubtedly able to use all the forces of inertia of the legislative machinery to prevent the enactment of the popular will. Under these circumstances men with all the power of the vote at their

disposal seem to be of opinion that the most effective method is militant action; and the writers of articles in Liberal papers show that they recognise its value by their attitude towards the bellicose speeches of the Trade Union leaders. And yet in the case of women who have no vote, and for whom, therefore, militant methods are the sole alternative to contented submission, the same Liberal papers hide their true convictions under pious expressions of disapproval.

Women in the Printing Trade.

The Edinburgh Printing Trade dispute has been settled by a compromise, which, while it does not concede the full demands of the men for the ultimate complete elimination of female labour, goes a considerable way in this direction. The precise terms are as follows:—

- (1) No new female learners are to be taken on up to June 30, 1916.
- (2) All new keyboards during that period are to be operated by male labour.

This decision will not turn out any of the women who are at present at work, but it will prevent any new women coming into the trade for six years, and, unless a totally different decision be arrived at six years hence, will mean that as the older women drop out their places will be taken by men. In commenting upon this result *The Scotsman* says:—"That women will yet recover the ground that has been lost can hardly be doubted. The trend of life is entirely against the contention of the male operatives, and although they seem to have carried their point for a time, they can hardly hope to oppose always with equal success what is one of the natural forces acting in modern civilisation."

Women's Pay.

The salient fact which emerges from this dispute is the false standard of value which attaches to women's labour. In consequence of this false standard men will not work with women on equal terms; they will not allow women to have the same training as themselves, and where women by hook or by crook have picked up the necessary skill, they refuse to allow them to enter the Union on a footing of equality. The employers, on the other hand, will only employ women provided they can take them on at rates far below those which are paid to men. And women, whose standard rate of pay throughout the country is exceedingly low, are willing to enter the field on these conditions. When women have won the vote this state of things will be altered, not all at once, because old laws and old prejudices die hard; but gradually women will gain a totally different footing, and the reward of labour will be paid according to the value of the output, and not to the sex of the worker. In view of the interest of this question, and of the repeated statements which are made by opponents, and even by certain Suffragists, that the granting of the vote to women will not affect wages, we propose to publish shortly in this paper a series of articles on this subject from the pen of Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

A Curious Comment.

In a review of a new book "An Affair of Dishonour," by Mr. William de Morgan, the *Westminster Gazette* concludes thus:—"As for Sir Oliver, we are told on every page that his heart was as black as pitch, but except that before the story begins he has behaved as many gentlemen of his disolute day did behave, we find nothing particularly revolting in his conduct while he is before us, though it is undeniably an ungentlemanly deed to interfere with a lady's correspondence unless she be your lawful wife. [The italics are our own.]"

North and South America.

Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty, the only woman member of the last Colorado Legislature, has been addressing assemblies in nineteen cities of Kansas, Arkansas, and Missouri, where she reports that the women were anxiously awaiting the opportunity to hear all about woman suffrage and how it works in Colorado. It is encouraging, too, to learn that the militant Suffrage movement is well understood even in Buenos Ayres. A correspondent sends us an account of a debate of the San Isidro Society, in which a suffrage resolution was carried by a good majority, and Mr. E. C. Harrison showed the need for the militant movement, as being the expression of the urgency of the women's demand.

The Campaign.

A vigorous week of propaganda has been conducted by the Women's Social and Political Union all over the country. Mrs. Pankhurst has been speaking to interested audiences at Wick, Thurso and Dornoch, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in York, Bridlington and Ilkley. In a vast number of other districts new men and women have been attracted to the cause by the speeches of organisers and members of the Union, and have come to understand its principles by purchasing copies of the paper, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, from sellers in the streets. Mrs. Pankhurst's Highland tour has now come to an end, but at the beginning of next month she is travelling to Ireland, where she will hold a great number of meetings. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is also speaking in Eastbourne, St. Leonards, Ilkley, Bradford, Leicester, and towns in the West of England in the following weeks. The popular free meetings in London, known as "At Home," commenced again on Monday afternoon, October 3, in the Queen's Hall, and on Thursday evening, October 6, in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, where they will be held during the autumn, instead of in the St. James's Hall, which is at present closed.

Mr. Lloyd George and Suffragists of North Wales.

A letter has been sent to Mr. Lloyd George from the woman suffrage societies in Carnarvon Burghs, including the local W.S.P.U., asking him to receive a deputation in order that they may lay before him their views in favour of the Woman Suffrage Bill, which passed its second reading in July last. Up to the time of going to press no reply has been received.

North of England Exhibition.

Preparations are going splendidly forward for the great Exhibition which is to be held by the W.S.P.U. in Southport in December, and gifts and articles for sale and promises of help will be welcomed by Miss Marsden, of 13, Nevill Street, Southport, and by the Secretaries for the Exhibition. It has been decided not to hold a special Exhibition in the South of England this year, but in view of the approach of Christmas a special appeal is made to members and friends of the Women's Social and Political Union to send articles suitable for sale at Christmas time to the Woman's Press Shop, 156, Charing Cross Road, or to other of the local shops in London and the provinces, in aid of the funds.

One Week More.

Only one week now remains before the close of the competition for increasing the circulation of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and we make a special appeal for additional regular subscribers. We hope that everyone who has not yet sent in a definite filled-up form from some new subscriber will be able to do so during the current week.

Contents of this Issue.

We have pleasure in calling our readers' attention to the interesting biographical sketch by Mrs. Taylor, of Chipchase Castle, which is included in this number. Mrs. Taylor is also contributing an article on the political situation, which we shall publish in a subsequent issue. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence writes on "The Modern Woman and Motherhood," Miss Christabel Pankhurst deals with the Anti-Government policy, and other articles of varied interest will be found elsewhere. We have pleasure in announcing that a special article will appear in next week's issue by the Countess of Selborne, who writes on "Reasons Why We Wish for the Vote."

Items of Interest.

The Revising Barrister at Gloucester has decided that the Act of 1907 does not enable married women in the provinces to vote for the Municipalities.

The Glasgow Trades Council on Wednesday in last week passed a resolution by 53 votes to 17, in favour of the Conciliation Bill for Woman Suffrage.

For the first time since its inauguration, women will this year sit in the Senate of the University of Toronto. Of five nominated, three have been elected by acclamation. They are: Miss Gertrude Lawler and Miss Charlotte Ross, representing the graduates in Arts of University College, and Dr. Stowe-Gullen, representing the graduates in medicine.

THE LAST WEEK.

Still time for a final spurt before September 30.

Just one week remains, and in a week a great deal can be accomplished. If every present reader were to get one new regular subscriber to the paper (and some can get several), an immense increase in the circulation could be accomplished. If every reader were to get one regular poster displayed, what a splendid addition to our advertisement that would be. If every woman who has not yet sold papers in the street, were to try for just one week . . . well then there ought not to be a man or woman in the country without a copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*! We recall the conditions of the competition:—

Class A.—Obtaining New Subscribers.—This class is for those who obtain and send to the Circulation Manager, 4, Clements Inn, the largest number of orders, either to newsagents or to the publisher. A special book containing ten order forms is supplied free, and may be obtained at all the W.S.P.U. shops and meetings, or will be sent post free on application. The order forms are posted to the Circulation Manager as they are filled in. Three prizes are given; a memento will be presented to all competitors sending in over ten order forms, and a special memento to all sending in over twenty. All orders must of course be new and for not less than six months.

Class B.—Individual Selling.—Here, again, three prizes will be given to those selling the largest number of copies of the paper, mementoes to those selling over 500, and special mementoes to those selling over 1,000. Papers must not be sold at indoor meetings, but they may be sold on all other occasions to personal friends, at street corners, etc. A special card should be obtained for marking off the copies sold.

Class C.—Pitch Selling.—Two prizes will be given to the Pitch Captains disposing of the largest aggregate number of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Mementoes will be given to all disposing of an aggregate of more than 3,000, and a special memento to those disposing of more than 5,000.

Class D.—Local Unions.—Two prizes will be given for the largest aggregate sales. A memento will be given to every Local Union selling over 5,000, and a special memento to those selling over 10,000. No returns will be accepted after October 7, and the account must be paid before the prizes are awarded.

Class E.—Country Campaigns.—Two prizes will be given for the largest aggregate sales. A memento will be given to every centre selling over 5,000, and a special memento to those selling over 10,000. The conditions are as in Class D.

Class F.—Posters.—Two prizes will be given to competitors most successful in inducing newsagents to exhibit the weekly poster, and mementoes will be given to all obtaining at least ten promises. Competitors must make visits of inspection to see that the posters are shown weekly.

Further information may be obtained from the Circulation Manager, *Votes for Women*, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

FACTS FOR NEW READERS.

(Those who want more information than is given here should obtain "Women's Fight for the Vote," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence, from *The Woman's Press*, 156, Charing Cross Road, Price 6d. net paper and 1s. net cloth.)

The demand women are making is that sex shall not of itself be a disqualification for the possession of the Parliamentary franchise. Women suffragists have accordingly drafted a Bill to effect this which they desire to see carried into law. It is estimated that between a million and a million-and-a-quarter women would be immediately enfranchised by it. As there are at present between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 male voters, this would mean that the female electorate would be about one-seventh of the whole. The Bill which is at present before Parliament is slightly different from this, and would enfranchise about one million women. It is explained elsewhere.

Why Women Want the Vote.

In the first place, they desire to play their part in the life of the nation and introduce their point of view, so long neglected, into the government of the country. Among the matters decided in Parliament are questions of education, infant mortality, sweated labour, the conditions of women's work, the housing of the poor, the treatment of the poor and of criminals. Women feel deeply on all these questions, and when they are voters candidates of all political parties will find that in order to win their support at the polls they will have to set these questions in the forefront of their programmes. In the second place, women know that the possession of the vote is necessary to safeguard the interests of women. No human being is good enough to be entrusted with absolute power over another human being, and no section or class of a community is good enough to be trusted with absolute power over another section or class. At present the male electorate controls the making and the administering of the laws, and as a result the law is not fair to women, and it is also administered to their disadvantage. Finally, the vote is the hall-mark of citizenship, and confers a status which those who are excluded from it cannot possess.

Where the Law is Unjust to Women.

Those who oppose giving votes to women are the loudest in their claims that the place of women is in the home, yet it is precisely in the home that the rights of the man are by law entirely superior to those of the woman. The husband has the power to select where the home shall be and how it shall be conducted. In the eyes of the law he is the sole parent of the child so long as he is alive, and the decision as to the child's upbringing rests entirely with him. Whether the husband be good or bad, the wife is by law entirely subservient to him. She has no legal right to any share of the husband's income except in the case of actual desertion; and if, while continuing to live with her, he refuses to pay to her a single penny of his wages, she cannot obtain such payment except by breaking up her home and going into the workhouse. Short of this she and her children can starve, and yet she cannot claim the protection of the law to obtain maintenance from her husband. Finally, in the event of either party to the marriage being guilty of definite immorality, there is a total difference in the treatment accorded to husband and wife.

Women and the Administration.

In administering the country the Government has set up an entirely artificial differentiation between the sexes. In the first place, from a very large number of positions (including all the more important) women are excluded altogether, to the disadvantage of women, who are thus denied opportunities of well-paid employment, and to the disadvantage of the community, which is thus obliged to appoint a man where a woman might be more suitable, or have better qualifications. In the second place, where men and women are both employed, the woman receives a far smaller wage than the man for precisely the same work, as is the case with school inspectors, sanitary inspectors, post office employees, &c. Finally, the Government is one of the worst of sweaters in the wages it pays to women, either directly or through its sub-contractors in its Army clothing works and other departments.

Answers to Anti-Suffrage Arguments.

Women have shown their demand for the vote by petitions, by great public meetings, and by willingness to undergo imprisonment for the sake of the cause. These are the only methods available for the unenfranchised. That woman suffrage is popular among the electors is shown by the way candidates for Parliament secretly hostile to it hedge on the subject when questioned at election time. Though man's principal work may lie in the workshop and woman's in the home, that does not prevent men and it should not prevent women from taking a reasonable interest in the affairs of the country, and from sparing that small amount of time required to cast a vote at elections, to attend an occasional political meeting, and to discuss the questions of the day with acquaintances. Common sense and the experience of countries where women vote combine to show that woman suffrage does not lead to dissensions in the home, nor to women being treated with less respect by men, but does lead to the enactment of beneficial laws which they have been for years asking for in vain. There is no ground for thinking that woman suffrage will unduly strengthen any one of the present political parties at the expense of the others. Nor will it necessarily lead to adult suffrage or to women M.P.'s. After women have won the vote the male electorate will still outnumber the female electorate by about six or seven to one, and only those changes which are approved by the whole electorate will be made. Where women have been called upon to govern they have generally been remarkably successful, as witness the famous names of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Victoria, Maria Theresa, the late Dowager Empress of China, and many others; but the possession of the vote does not mean the liability to be called on to govern, but merely to select those who will govern; and women are certainly capable of this quite equally with men. Many anti-suffragists pin their faith to the "physical force" argument; they say that the ultimate basis of all government is physical force. This is untrue; it is not the physically strongest races which govern the world, but those who possess the finest combination of physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual force; and the same is true within the confines of a single State.

THE MAKING OF A MILITANT SUFFRAGIST.

My first acquaintance with Women's Suffrage was when I was twenty, and went with my parents and an M.P. to one of the first large public meetings held in the old St. George's Hall in 1872. Miss Lydia Becker, Mrs. Fawcett, and her sister, Miss Rhoda Garrett, addressed the meeting, and from that night I was a Suffragist.

The excellence of the speeches of the three young women (Mrs. Fawcett was only twenty-three, and her sister younger) caused the greatest surprise and admiration in the audience. But it was a new thing in those days, and therefore "dreadful," "shocking," for women to appear on a platform or speak in public, and the general feeling of Society towards "platform women" was precisely the same as that felt towards the militant Suffragettes of to-day.

Women's Suffrage was lost sight of for a time in the agitation and controversy that raged over the Married Women's Property Act, and my own thoughts and energies being centred in philanthropic work in our small country town, I gave comparatively little attention to the subject until after my marriage in 1880. Then it was news to me, as it is still to many mothers, that I had no rights whatever over my own children. It seemed incredible, and I realised what it must involve to the woman in cases of unhappy marriage. Therefore when the Guardianship of Children Act was brought forward, I did as much as I could to help Mrs. Elmy in her struggle to get the Bill passed. If it had not been for Mrs. Elmy's pertinacious efforts I do not think the Bill would have passed. The mutilation of the Bill and its unequal provisions as it emerged from Parliament showed me the necessity for women to have the power of the Vote in order to get their claims justly recognised. I joined the Central Society for Women's Suffrage; also the Women's Franchise League, because Mrs. Elmy and Mrs. Jacob Bright belonged to the latter. I also joined the Women's Liberal Federation mainly to push the Suffrage forward.

I am afraid I was a thorn in the side of "good Liberals," for I was one of the first eleven members of the Women's Liberal Federation who joined "the Union of Practical Suffragists Within the Federation." Its object was to pass a resolution that Women's Liberal Associations should refuse to work for any parliamentary candidate who would not support Women's Suffrage. (How innocent we all were in those days! We believed that if a candidate declared himself in favour of Women's Suffrage he would help to pass a Bill for it.) The Federation as a whole was odious, and after many years of the keenest controversy we succeeded only in getting a resolution passed that the Women's Liberal Federation would not *officially* help any candidate who was opposed to Women's Suffrage, but left each W.L.A. free to act as it liked. Nothing further was to be gained, and the organisation of the practical Suffragists was dissolved. A few years ago I left the Women's Liberal Federation, stating that I could no longer be connected with a body of women who showed themselves so feebly subservient to their party leaders in the matter of Women's Suffrage.

I forget when I was elected to serve on the Committee of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage, some time in the eighties, but throughout my connection with it my main endeavour was to promote co-operation with the other Suffrage Societies that were springing up in different parts of the country. The ideal of a National Union of all Suffrage Organisations was always before me to prevent overlapping, and to ensure unity of policy and of action.

Those were the days of petitions, and when the Central Society resolved during the eighties to get up a petition from county councillors in favour of Women's Suffrage, I undertook to work it in Northumberland. Out of the 87 county councillors 81 signed the petition—a remarkable record of the opinion of responsible men of business.

I think the most useful piece of work I did for the Suffrage in those days was the enlarging of the Special Appeal. Originally intended to be worked by the Central Society, I suggested and obtained permission to invite, in the Society's name, the co-operation of the Women's Liberal Federation, the Primrose League, and the British Women's Temperance Association. All accepted the invitation; each of the organisations supplying three members for the Special Appeal Committee, with Mrs. Fawcett as President. It was a daring but a successful experiment. Miss Balfour and Lady Knightley sat side by side with Mrs. Eva McLaren and

Mrs. Broadley Reid, working harmoniously together for a common object.

The result was the collection of 358,000 signatures in less than two months. But the lack of interest shown by Members of Parliament in the Special Appeal when it was displayed in Westminster Hall convinced us all of the futility of further general petitions. Although the signatures, each with the postal address stated, were collected in each constituency and pasted into books so that each Member of Parliament could see who the women were in his own constituency who appealed for the Vote, comparatively few members troubled to stroll in from the House, and hardly any cared to examine the books.

The organisation of the Special Appeal paved the way for the formation of the, by me, long-desired National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies; and after its formation I retired to work up the Suffrage in my own district, which had hitherto been entirely neglected in the pressure of the larger aims. But somehow at this time there was very little heart in the Suffrage work. The labour of forming a network of Suffrage Societies throughout Great Britain went on steadily, but general interest in the subject flagged. The movement was practically asleep when Christabel Pankhurst's and Annie Kenney's astounding action woke us all up. Woke me up to strong disapproval of "the antics of a couple of excited girls" (!) until I learnt, a few months later, that the militant tactics were part of a carefully thought out plan of campaign.

It is needless to continue. I was captivated by the cleverness of attracting the attention of the whole nation to Votes for Women, and still more by the astuteness of the policy of opposing whatever Government happens to be in power until the Vote is granted to women. Such a clear, definite, consistent, and continuous policy won me heart and soul. For seven months I urged the National Union to adopt the same policy, but in vain, and I joined the W.S.P.U.

Mona Taylor.

CHIVALRY.

A Sketch from Life.

"If women get the vote, chivalry will be a dead letter," said the Anti-suffragist. "Women are to-day in a privileged position—things will be very different when once they get the franchise."

"Yes, thank God, things *will* be different," I replied, "the women workers will then be a force to be reckoned with, not a herd of creatures to be sweated with no power of redress." The Anti-suffragist made some reply. I forget whether it was "the woman's place is the home" argument or the "physical force" fallacy. To tell the truth, I was not listening, for a sudden memory had risen up before me.

I could see her again, that elderly, hard-working woman who lived near my home in the country. Her husband had been a semi-cripple for several years, and she did his work for him, opening and shutting the gates at the level railway crossing. The company paid him 11s. a week and gave him the use of a cottage for his services, and every extra train brought in a trifle more. Sometimes in the holiday season they sent a porter to take a turn at the gates for a while. The invalid husband died at last, and the widow asked to be allowed to remain in the cottage and continue the work of the crossing. The company consented, pointing out at the same time that as she was a woman, the pay would be lowered to 5s. a week. Also as a woman, they apparently thought it unnecessary to give her the additional payment for extra trains, and the relieving porter was altogether withdrawn. There was no one to take her part. She was only an old working woman with a weather-beaten face and patient eyes, and when she tried to tell her grievances in her roundabout peasant way, the inspector would laugh at her as he passed on his round, and tell her she could go if she didn't like it. Go from the cottage she called "home"—from the work that was her only means of livelihood! So she stayed.

It went hardly with her last summer. All day long from early morning till late at night she had to be on the watch for the warning bell, and even while she slept the sound of imaginary trains would beat through her brain. The climax was reached in that hot weather we had in August. She was seized with brain fever, and lay for weeks between life and death. At last the fever passed, but with the return of consciousness came the return of the old worries.

It was thus that I saw her again in my memory, half raising herself in bed, speaking of all she had gone through, of her fears for the future, of the helplessness of poor women. And again I could hear her concluding words, "I am an old suffragette, I am."

"And so am I, Mrs. B.," I replied, taking her hand in mine.

She looked at me a moment, pathetically. "You don't need it," she said at last. "It is we working women who need it."

F. M. H.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Parliament meets on November 15, and five days before that event (November 10, at 8 p.m.) there will be a great rally of Suffragists at the Royal Albert Hall. Tickets are selling very rapidly, nearly 2,000 seats having already been booked. Prices of seats and all details will be found under the picture of the Albert Hall on page 824.

London Meetings.

Members and friends are returning to London eager to begin the autumn work. Two outstanding features of the campaign will again be, as hitherto, the two weekly free meetings held in great London halls on Monday afternoons and Thursday evenings. These will recommence during the first week in October. The first Monday afternoon meeting will be at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, on Monday, October 3, at 3 p.m., when the speaker will be the Chairman of the Conciliation Committee, the Earl of Lytton. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will also speak.

The Thursday evening meetings in London will recommence on Thursday, October 6. Unfortunately, as the St. James's Hall is for the present closed, they will not be able to be held there as heretofore. Instead, they will be held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, a hall well known to most of our readers and very easily reached by tube, train, or omnibus. The nearest stations on the Underground Railway are Farringdon Street and Blackfriars, on the Central London Tube, Chancery Lane; omnibuses along Holborn or Fleet Street pass within a few doors. The meetings will be held every Thursday evening during the autumn at 8 p.m., and a specially large rally is hoped for at the opening meeting on October 6.

Other Important Meetings.—The autumn campaign throughout the country, which has for its object the demand for facilities for the Conciliation Committee's Bill during the autumn Session, will include an enormous number of meetings in various large towns. Among these are Mrs. Pankhurst's meetings in Ireland:—At Cork on Monday, October 3; Dublin, Tuesday, October 4; Dundalk, Wednesday, October 5; Belfast, Thursday, October 6; Derry, Friday, October 7. Mrs. Pankhurst will also speak at Chigwell, Essex, on Tuesday, October 25; in the Town Hall, Dover, Wednesday, October 26; at Brixton on Thursday, October 27; at Bristol on Friday, October 28; at Ipswich, November 2, and at Birmingham on November 15.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak in Eastbourne Town Hall on Friday, September 23; in the Grand Concert Hall, St. Leonards, on Wednesday, September 28; in the King's Hall, Ilkley, on Tuesday, October 4; at an At Home, Midland Hall, Bradford, on Wednesday, October 5; at Leicester on Tuesday, October 18, and from October 20 to 22 at various centres in the West of England.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst's engagements include a meeting in the Town Hall, Folkestone, on Thursday, October 13; a meeting at Bournemouth on Saturday, October 22; and a meeting at Nottingham during November.

A full list of meetings will be found on pages 832, 833 and 834. The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

In response to special request, the article by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in VOTES FOR WOMEN of September 9, "A Call to Action," is being reprinted as a leaflet, price 9d. per hundred, 6s. per thousand, post free, and will be ready in a few days.

Debenham & Freebody

Wigmore Street.
(Cavendish Square) London.W

NEW AUTUMN BLOUSES



SHIRT (as sketch) in the new Sunbathing Silk, gathered into well-fitting yokes, finished with tie and linen turnover collar and cuffs in black, cream, and all the new colorings.

15/9

SENT ON APPROVAL

Debenham & Freebody
Wigmore St., Cavendish Square, W.

HOLIDAY NOTES.

I.
A remote Devonshire village. The landlady, a convinced suffragist, has no idea that *Suffragettes* were ordinary human beings until her two visitors arrive. Of course, they are provided with a packet of the W.S.P.U. tea, and the anti husband's remark after being requested to taste it is, "Well, if them *Suffragettes* is as good as their tea, they must be all right!"

II.
Suffragette (at close of meeting): "Now, are there any questions you would like to ask me dealing with the subject of *Votes for Women*?"

Old Welshman: "Yes, I would like to ask a question. When will *Prestatyn* have the honour of hearing you speak again?"

III.
SCENE: The Isle of Man boat. Two newsboys, offering papers, catch sight of the badges worn by two *Suffragettes*. Immediately they offer themselves as agents for *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and eagerly ask if they may have *VOTES FOR WOMEN* buttons to wear. They are duly decorated, and when they again resume their paper-selling, they are proudly sporting the colours of the W.S.P.U., attracting much attention, and causing many comments among the passengers.

IV.
Scene: A sandy cove on the rocky Devonshire coast. Two W.S.P.U. members mooring their boat preparatory to bathing. Another occupant of the beach is a lady in charge of a tiny girl who is paddling. The baby's "waders" are pinned with the well-known badge, and a pleasant friendship is struck up at once.

V.
Two *Suffragettes* are having tea in a shop. Enter three women of the superior servant class. Being the only occupants of the room "good-days" are exchanged, and soon the conversation is led to the topic of the day. The newcomers are a little stand-offish at first, but soon enter into a friendly talk and agree that the *Suffragettes* have "a great deal of right on their side." They promise to attend the meetings when at home again, and carry off a copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* to read on the sands. They seem quite proud to have talked with real live *Suffragettes*!

WHAT AMERICAN WOMEN ARE DOING.

We learn from the *Boston Women's Journal* that Miss Ina Shepard is Secretary of the Clearing House Association in Birmingham, Alabama. She deals with eight banks, the clearings amounting to between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000 a month. She has held this position for five years.

Miss Annie Murphy, who has been made ward superintendent in Chicago, is leading the department's baby-saving crusade. Her extremely practical set of rules is to be printed in Polish, Lithuanian, and English, and it is believed that they will go far towards decreasing infant mortality in the section under her charge.

Miss Rose Moriarty, of Elyria, Ohio, although only twenty-six years of age, is Deputy City Auditor, Deputy City Treasurer, Deputy Clerk of the Council, clerk of the Board of Control, clerk to the Director of Public Safety, and clerk to the Director of Public Service. She has been connected with the government of the city for seven years, and every bit of legislation authorising improvements in pavements, bridges, sewer and water systems has been drawn up by her, all the money passing through her hands. "Nevertheless," the *Woman's Journal* concludes, "she is classed politically with minors, imbeciles, and criminals."

Mrs. Minnie W. Rutherford, of Magazine, Arkansas, has prepared a Bill, to be presented at the next session of the State Legislature, providing for the admission of women to the bar in Arkansas.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, chairman of the National Woman Suffrage Press Bureau, delivered about forty Suffrage addresses in New York and the neighbourhood during the spring and early summer.

Mrs. Mason, the well-known society leader, and mother of the Princess Charles von Isenberg, is giving up her beautiful New York mansion in order that it may be converted into a large clubhouse for *Suffragettes*.

CHAINS.

[Overheard by a W.S.P.U. member while arranging the Brighton shop window.]

Comfortably dressed woman, to friend: "Do you think it's right, what the paper says about the chain-makers?"

Companion: "Yes, I suppose so."

Comfortably dressed woman: "Do you think women ought to make chains like men?"

Companion: "Yes, why not?"

Comfortably dressed woman: "What kind of chains are they?"

Companion: "Why, like we wear round our necks!"

A claimant at Central Finsbury Revision Court, has been allowed a vote as a lodger in his wife's house on satisfying the barrister that he lived in a separate part of the house.

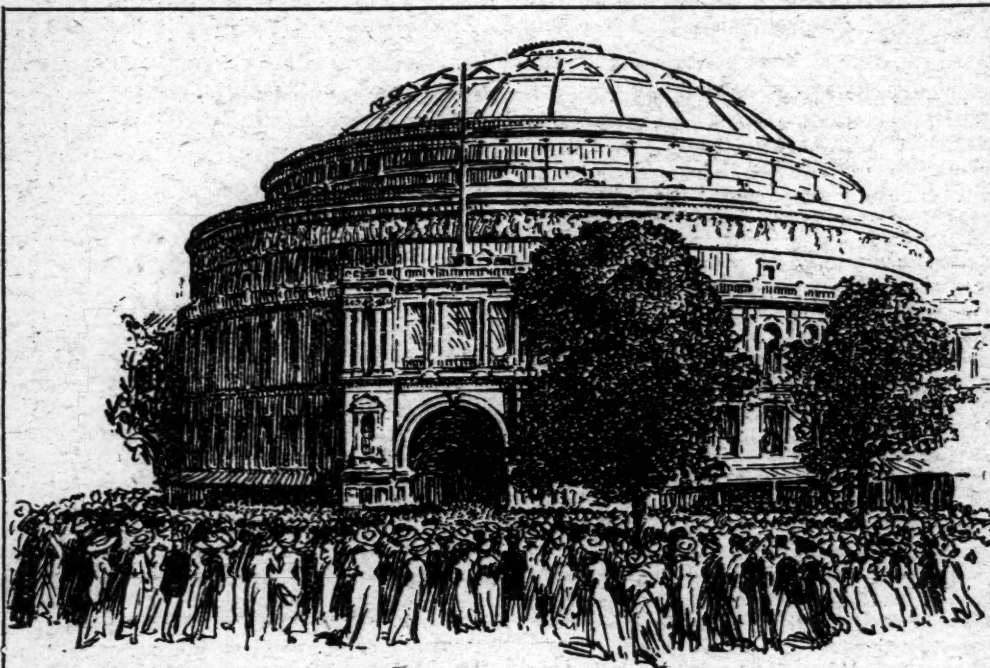
SPLENDID MEETINGS IN YORKSHIRE.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Adela Pankhurst addressed a public meeting in the Festival Concert Rooms, York, on Wednesday evening in last week.

Dr. Peter Macdonald, who presided, said he esteemed it a real honour to preside at a meeting of a body of women who had shown they were thoroughly in earnest. He was a democrat, and just as he agreed and asserted that the will of the people must prevail, that taxation without representation was tyranny, and that the Government ought to be by the people for the people, so when a woman came to him and said she was one of the taxed, one of the ruled, and wanted her share in making the laws that ruled and taxed her, as a democrat he could do nothing but assent. He defended the militant tactics. The charge of being unwomanly had been brought against every pioneer woman, but it had been forgotten once her work was accomplished.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, alluding to the payment of members of Parliament, now being advocated, said that if John Hampden was jus-

thanks to the member of the Buckrose Division, Sir Luke White, for his support of the Conciliation Bill, and calls upon him to do his utmost during the autumn Session to secure the passing of the Bill (which secured so great a majority on the second reading) into law, so that the will of the people as expressed by their representatives in the House of Commons shall prevail. The reading of the resolution seemed to come as a surprise to a good many good old-fashioned Tory ladies in the audience who had worked in a variety of ways to keep Sir Luke White out of Parliament, and to put in Mr. Mark Sykes, as extreme an opponent of the Women's Suffrage as Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P. It soon came the turn of the Liberal women to have an occasional squirm at the thrusts of the lady. Very clearly and powerfully did she put her points, which cannot logically be answered, and she was really eloquent when she pleaded the cause of the wretched victims of the present social system, and in special what is known as the white slave traffic. She argued that women had need of the vote to protect the children and the girls and the homes. The mention of slums seemed to bring the suggestion of a blush to the cheeks of one or two present, for after all there are a few dwelling-places in Bridlington which are not fit for pigs. The resolution was carried with only one or two dissentients.



THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1910, 8 P.M.
Great Meeting in Support of the Conciliation Committee's Bill, Royal Albert Hall, London.

Nearly 2,000 tickets have already been sold for this great meeting, and those who wish to be present should secure places without delay. The whole hall is available, but the special regulations do not permit the public sale of tickets. For the convenience of W.S.P.U. members, however, certain parts of the hall have been set aside for them and their friends, men and women, and numbered and reserved tickets for these may be purchased by members from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The prices of these seats are as follows: Amphitheatre Stalls, 2s.; Arena, 1s.; Upper Orchestra, 6d.; Grand Tier Boxes (holding 10), 30s.; Loggia (holding eight), 21s.; 2nd Tier Boxes (holding five), 12s. 6d. The local W.S.P.U.'s have been given the first opportunity of taking up the Grand Tier Boxes.

tified in refusing to pay the tax on ship money, women were ten thousand times more justified in refusing to pay taxes to keep members in Parliament if they had no voice in the representation. She could understand the position of people who did not want women to have the vote, but what she could not understand was that people who had the conviction were not prepared to fight for their convictions. That seemed to her a contemptible position. (Applause.) Already 100 women had volunteered for a deputation to the Prime Minister, should it be necessary, and she did not know how the Government were going to manage with hundreds of women to put into prison.

Miss Adela Pankhurst said they were told that the Woman's Bill would not pass because the Cabinet was disunited. But could they not see that a disunited Cabinet could stand in the way of any Bill? Their Bill had a majority of 110 votes, and yet was hindered because the Prime Minister, two or three Cabinet Ministers, and a small minority of anti-Suffragists had set their faces against it. This was not the majority but a small and unimportant minority ruling the whole House of Commons. It was unrepresentative government, and would have to be put down.

On the following day Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Adela Pankhurst addressed another splendid meeting at Bridlington. The local *Chronicle* (a Unionist organ) says: "Last night, at the Temperance Hall, Bridlington, a very largely attended public meeting was held in support of the Conciliation Bill (giving votes to 1,000,000 householders). The promoters of the meeting could not well have desired a more appreciative and enthusiastic audience, and the two lady speakers were heard with special interest, owing to the great and important part they have taken in the movement."

The *Free Press* (Liberal) says: "Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke for an hour and did not seem to have been speaking half that time. She began by moving the following resolution: 'That this meeting expresses its

MRS. PANKHURST'S VISIT TO IRELAND.

Keen interest is being aroused all over Ireland by the announcement of a visit from Mrs. Pankhurst. From the most extreme southern point to the cold reserve north, where just now the people are roused over the cruel sweating system, comes news which proves that slowly Ireland is awakening to the meaning of the woman's movement. It seems indeed a fitting moment for a visit from Mrs. Pankhurst, who during the past has been the leader in the hard and strenuous struggle against injustice. Arrangements concerning the meetings are going ahead very satisfactorily. Some details will be found on page 835.

The following is a list of meetings already arranged:—

Cork	Monday, October 3
Dublin	Tuesday, " 4
Dundalk	Wednesday, " 5
Belfast	Thursday, " 6
Derry	Friday, " 7

"A Constant Reader" writes to the *Cork Free Press* calling attention to the forthcoming visit of Mrs. Pankhurst to Ireland. The Cork ladies, he says, as well as the men, are ready to accord her a thoroughly Irish "Caed Mille Failthe."

MRS. PANKHURST'S HIGHLAND TOUR.

This most successful tour is over, and Mrs. Pankhurst is on her way south. Miss Una Dagdale reports:—

On Wednesday last we had a delightful and most interesting meeting at Newtonmore, presided over by Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., our kind hostess there. People cycled, walked, drove, and motored from miles around to attend it. The hall was very prettily decorated with flags, and the meeting owes its success to the splendid work done by Miss Louisa Garrett Anderson, M.D., Miss Geddes, Mrs. Watson, and Miss Evelyn Sharp. Dr. Katherine Chapman stewarded most indefatigably. The next day we heard of five "antis" who are resigning from their league!

A long but beautiful train journey brought us to Wick. The Territorial Hall was packed with curious and eager faces. The Rev. Mr. Dickie took the chair and made a most sympathetic speech. Mrs. Pankhurst had a splendid welcome, and spoke magnificently. The audience was fairly astounded. Questions came pouring up, and the audience was delighted with Mrs. Pankhurst's answers. A lady in the audience asked for a vote of thanks, which was enthusiastically given.

The next day we motored to Thurso through "John o' Groat's." Mr. Durran, the Provost of Thurso, took the chair at the meeting there, and showed from his speech that he fully understood the methods of the militant *Suffragettes*. Then Mrs. Pankhurst conquered all hearts in a most wonderful and touching speech, dealing especially with prison life, and showing that it is poverty which sends many women there. Mr. Fraser Smith called for a vote of thanks, saying it was well worth while paying to come in and go out (referring to the collection) to have such a delightful evening.

Our most especial and grateful thanks are due to Miss Bromner, who arranged the Wick and Thurso meetings, and spared no time and trouble to make them successful. We also thank Mrs. Mackay, of Thurso, for her kind hospitality.

MRS. PANKHURST AT NEWTONMORE.

Wednesday was a purple, white, and green day at Newtonmore. From an early hour in the morning the colours of the militant *suffragettes* floated from the roof of the Public Hall, and a large audience assembled there in the afternoon to hear Mrs. Pankhurst, the leader of the advanced Suffrage movement, speak on "Votes for Women."

Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., who took the chair, spoke of the necessity for adopting different methods in order to gain any end, and expressed her sympathy both with the militant and non-militant sections of the Suffrage movement. The heroic spirit, she said, was always wanted in big undertakings, and no great reform had ever been gained by peaceable means alone, certainly not Christianity. In Scotland much had been won by militant methods in the past, and as an instance of their efficacy the speaker mentioned the successful fight against Episcopalianism. Introducing Mrs. Pankhurst to the audience, she concluded by saying that the militant actions of the *Suffragettes* had brought suffering on no one but themselves.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who had a warm reception, expressed her pleasure at having that opportunity of speaking at Newtonmore so soon after Mrs. Fawcett, who had spoken there last week on behalf of the constitutional *Suffragists*. Saying that it was interesting to note that *Suffragists* were all at one with regard to their object, however they might differ with regard to methods, the speaker went on to point out that government rested not on force but on the consent of the governed. That consent had been withheld by the militant women during the last four years. They had begun by refusing to be bound over to keep the peace and had been sent to prison as common criminals; when this did not convince the Government of their determination, they adopted the hunger strike, and again proved that force could not subdue them. When this was followed by forcible feeding the women resisted once more, and were released when it was feared that loss of life would otherwise follow.

Mrs. Pankhurst then dealt with some of the reasons that had led to this civil war between weak women and a Government backed by physical force. She spoke of the laws that pressed heavily on women, although these were less unjust in Scotland than in England, and showed that even if these were redressed, voteless women would have no guarantee that they would not be replaced by others. As an instance, she mentioned the new land taxes, and without criticising their justice or injustice, pointed out that men would be able to express their opinion of them by using their votes at the next general election, whereas women were powerless to protest against taxes that were imposed without their consent. The Osborne decision was also of grave importance to women, since it involved the possibility of the future payment of members of Parliament, and should this come to pass, women would be compelled to contribute with their taxes towards the salaries of men over whose election they had no control. The Midwives Act was another instance of legislation that pressed hardly upon women because the woman's point of view had not been considered in drafting it. It was sometimes said that women should not be enfranchised because they could not fight, yet women who were mothers risked their lives on a lonely battlefield at least as much as men did when they went out to fight for their country. The nation's money was used in order to provide medical aid for the wounded soldier, but for the mother there was only medical aid tainted with pauperism, by the provisions of the new Bill now before Parliament. Mrs. Pankhurst concluded with an eloquent indictment of the white slave traffic, and made a moving appeal to her audience to demand political liberty for women in order that matters of such vital importance to women should not be dealt with by men alone. From the *Kingussie Record*.

HOW IT STRIKES ME.

By E. W. S., a Home-keeping Woman.

[The following has been sent to us by a home-keeping woman. There must be hundreds and thousands of women in the position of the writer; this is why we print it just as she wrote it.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

Before I write aught else, let me just introduce myself—who and what I am, and why I hold views at all apart from my cooking and homekeeping duties. I am a wife, twenty-five years of age, and the proudest of proud possessors of three bonnie babies, fair, fat, and engaging. No "anti's" children ever equalled mine. A large house with its multifarious duties keep me busy from morning till evening. But while I cook I think, and while I am tucking my babies into bed I dream—of their future, of what life holds in store for us all. Even during the monotonous darning ponderous thoughts come crashing into my brain. I often hold my breath and wonder what will be.

Touching woman's suffrage, I have heard but few speeches and read but little. I was convinced before I did that, and wondered when the storm would burst to clear the sky for us women. Of my husband I make no mention; he is not English and has no wish to speak on English affairs. But I am, and I feel deeply that I may not help other Englishwomen to voice their wrongs and at least do their best to alter them. I shake my head and ponder that Christian England does not think me mentally fit to vote, and will use force to prevent me—even the brute force of the Middle Ages.

Is England always to treat her most splendid intellectual teachers even as the vilest drunkard? In 1910 women whose only crime was a desire to see their sex possess a measure of political freedom were thrown into cells, handcuffed, and violently maltreated, as a "lesson" to us hardworking home-women. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, and scores of other generous, brilliant women, who have proved by deeds their superiority over the average man (I might say over the intellectual man) have been driven like dogs through streets of degraded humanity, degraded by their blindness to the great truths these women they spit upon are propagating. Are they working only for the vote? No, but for what the vote stands for—freedom from our long serfdom, for the right to live, to educate our children, and to teach broadmindedness in every walk of life; for a freer, truer life, without shame, white slaves, or sweated workers. We want to say in a loud voice that we will not have this; that we must and will remove the oppressions with which we are bowed down. We are not against men, as men; we want to link hands with them, think out with them the best plan to make this land of ours livable for all, alike for the rich woman in her carriage in Bond Street, the waitress in the tea-rooms, and the matchseller in the gutter. No need for me to say now what these two slaves I mention endure. We all know it and try to forget it. Can we do this satisfactorily? Can I look at the girl who brings me my cup of tea, even smiling as she does, and not think how patiently, how bravely she bears her lot? Is it not time someone helped her before she, too, finds life too hard to endure and seeks some easier livelihood?

This is but a single instance of the dream-thoughts that have come to me during my illness, overwhelming and hurtful, because of my feverish longing to help and see the fulfilment of the vow taken. We will have the vote, not to fling away as an empty perfume bottle, but to use for the sake of all women and our defenceless babies. This is what I call Woman's Suffrage.

EDINBURGH PRINTERS' DISPUTE.

The dispute in the printing trade at Edinburgh, which included, it will be remembered, a determined demand by the men compositors for the ultimate total elimination of female labour, has been settled, and at a mass meeting held on September 15 the final terms were agreed to. These are that no new female learners shall be introduced before June 1916, that during that period all new keyboards shall be operated by men and that the Executive of the Scottish Typographical Association recommend the Edinburgh branches to maintain peace on the question of hours and wages for three years. Both national and local officials of the Printing Federation spoke in support of these terms. An amendment rejecting them was lost, the majority voting for their acceptance.

A WARNING.

We desire to warn our readers, against a plausible woman who is going about to various members and local unions of the W.S.P.U. professing herself an ardent supporter of the cause and endeavouring to obtain money by getting endorsements to cheques and by other means. She assumes various names, professes close acquaintance with the leaders of the Union and generally promises her services or offers to contribute to the funds.

TESTIMONIAL TO MRS. ELMY.

Subscriptions to the testimonial in recognition of Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy's long and valiant struggle in the cause of women's enfranchisement continue to come in, and this week Mrs. Martindale reports that the total has reached the sum of £128 2s. 9d. Among the list of contributors during the week are Dr. Helen Hanson, Mrs. Carl Hentschell, Mrs. Cobden Unwin and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Those who wish to subscribe to the fund should lose no time in sending their contributions to Mrs. Martindale, Horsted Keynes, Sussex.

MR. DEVLIN AND SWEATED TRADES.

Following on his splendid championship of the sweated workers in Belfast (reported in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN), Mr. Devlin, M.P., has written to Mr. Churchill and Mr. Buxton on the subject. Mr. Devlin states that the facts present an overwhelming case for official public inquiry into the condition of the workers in the linen and cognate trades in Belfast. Further, he alleges that the extent of the evil of sweating in Belfast is very much underestimated in Dr. Bailie's report, which, he says, deals only with cases in which returns have been made by the employers of out-workers.

WOMEN'S DRESS.

A letter from Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has appeared in the *Daily News*, in answer to one by Mr. Chiozza Money on the extravagance of women with regard to dress. Mr. Money having complained that women wear cheap and over-trimmed clothing, and feed themselves insufficiently in order to have money to spend on finery, Miss Pankhurst points out that the wage of the woman worker can only maintain her at all if she has both insufficient food and the very cheapest clothing. The only alternative is to make her own clothes, and if she is earning her living this means the sacrifice of recreation and sleep. An interesting point of view is Miss Pankhurst's suggestion that tyranny of fashion emanates largely from boys' public schools, where every boy must be like all the rest or he is certain to be "ragged." Many suffragists, Miss Pankhurst adds, spend more money on clothes than they can comfortably afford, rather than run the risk of being considered *outré*, and doing harm to the cause. Moreover, the business world is largely controlled by men, and they are responsible for the commercial system which underpays and overworks women who make clothing, and for the cheap fashion papers to which Mr. Money made objection.

BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW.

A correspondent writes to the *Manchester Guardian* in answer to a writer who appears to regard trade unionism as the panacea for all women's economic and industrial ills. Many women, it is pointed out, do not join a union at all because "their spirit is broken under the weight of life's burdens. How can a sweated worker, earning 5s. or 6s. for work which requires continual hard labour for perhaps eighteen hours a day and seven days per week be expected to appreciate subtle problems in the economics of labour? . . . For ages we have been treating women as slaves and inferior beings; through centuries we have been teaching them that it is 'unwomanly' to protect their own interests by any means, individually or co-operatively, and now some people are found to wonder that women, half-starved and over-worked, do not immediately form flourishing unions such as men have only raised after nearly a century's strenuous effort, aided by all the power which political force, good wages, shorter hours, greater education, and higher social advantages could give. You are asking them to make bricks without straw!"

NEWS FROM INDIA.

In the Town Hall, at Simla, on June 28, there was a most interesting debate on votes for women. Mrs. S. P. James made a vigorous speech, which concluded with the hope that "when the Bill had become law, as she believed it surely would, they would not fail to give honour where honour was due—to the noble band of women who had braved ridicule and insult, imprisonment and all the shameful treatment that accompanied it, in the fight for the status of their sex."

A WOMAN ON A COLLEGE BOARD.

Mrs. Sperrin Chant, wife of Alderman Chant, of St. Thomas, Ontario, has been given a place on the board of management of Alma College by the General Conference of the Methodist Church. This is the first time on record that a woman has taken so responsible a position, and it may be looked upon, says the *Quebec Chronicle*, as a precedent in the future attitude of the Church towards woman's place in the government of its affairs.

A WOMAN AS RIVER PILOT.

Mrs. Gordon Green is licensed by the Government to command and pilot river steamers on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. She has had twenty years' experience, and one spring, a steamer being torn from its moorings and caught in the ice floes in the little Hanswhe River, Mrs. Green managed to get the boat out of the ice and save it from being crushed.

DR. MARY MARSHALL.

Dr. Mary Marshall, who has recently died, was one of the early Edinburgh students, and did much for the opening of the medical profession for women abroad. After the death of her husband, a solicitor in Greenock, she began to study medicine, obtaining the degree of M.D. of the University of Paris. In 1870 the thesis which she wrote for her degree was characterised by the President of the Examining Board as likely to become a classic. Its ability and strong evidence of tuition proved to him, he said, the right of women to be practitioners of medicine, a belief to which her work in the Paris school had converted him. Dr. Marshall was senior physician to the Hospital for Women in London, and subsequently in Cannes, where she practised from 1895. In the intervals between the marriages of her father, Dr. Anderson, Dr. Marshall kept house for him, and by her kindness and strength of character influenced many of the gymnasium boys who passed under Dr. Anderson's tuition.

WOMEN IN THE MINISTRY.

In view of the decision of the Wesleyan Conference as to the preaching of women and the resolution that women possessed of "special gifts" should have the power to exercise them, the *Manchester Guardian* notes that there are quite a number of women ministers in England and America. Among those in England are Mrs. Sarah A. Dixon, Miss L. C. R. Smith, Miss Harriet Offer Baker, and Miss Jane Brown; while it is stated that there are over 4,000 women ministers in the United States, among them being Miss Gertrude von Petzold and Dr. Anna Shaw.

BRAVE WOMEN.

Two stories of brave women come from America. At Buffalo Mrs. Oscar Haffa caught a burglar in her house, being awakened while he was counting money in her handbag. Leaving her bed she quietly pinioned the man and threw him on the floor. Her seventeen-year old daughter, hearing her mother's cries ran to her assistance, and the two women held the burglar while a policeman was fetched. A woman in New York, seeing a big negro carrying a bundle in his arms late one evening, was curious enough to ask what he had in the package. Being told it was not her business, she pulled open the wrappings and discovered that they contained the baby of a friend, Mrs. Wilson. The negro dropped his burden, fled, and was lost to sight, but the baby was restored to her mother.

WOMEN AS BUILDERS.

From the New York Correspondent of the *Daily Mail* we learn that women are working as masons in the construction of a church. The building, to be known as the "Women's Apostolic New Church," is in Jersey City. The plans were drawn by a woman architect; the women of the congregation, after their day's work, are raising the walls, and a woman will be the pastor.

YOUR FOOD AND THE VOTE.

A correspondent writes to the *Daily Graphic* drawing attention to the connection between votes for women and pure food. "Woman's sphere," says the writer, "is the home, and one of the chief considerations of the home is the feeding of those who live in it. . . . Politics are daily becoming more domestic and social in nature; therefore women ought to have direct influence in politics. . . . It is an interesting and noteworthy fact that in the four States of America where woman suffrage is in existence there is satisfactory pure food legislation."

MRS. A. SMITH LEWIS, D.D.

Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis, Hon. D.D. of Heidelberg, has just published a revised edition of her work on the old Syriac Gospels, the manuscript of which she discovered sixteen years ago in the convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. With the exception of the manuscript discovered by Cureton in 1844, this is the only manuscript of the Syriac version yet discovered. Since its discovery Mrs. Lewis, assisted by her twin sister, Mrs. Gibson, has been indefatigable in her efforts to remove the unavoidable defects of the first edition. The Sinai manuscript has been over-written by a monkish scribe of the seventh or eighth century, with "Narratives of Holy Women," and the lower script, therefore, presents great difficulties in decipherment. By repeated visits to the convent, and the use of every scientific device, Mrs. Lewis has now succeeded in correcting many gaps and mistakes which marked the edition of 1894, and has produced a beautiful volume, indispensable to the student of textual criticism of the New Testament. The full title is "The Old Syriac Gospels; or, Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe," being the Text of the Sinai or Syriac-Antiochene Palimpsest, &c. Edited by Agnes Smith Lewis, Hon. D.D. (Heidelberg). 25s. net. London: Williams and Norgate.

Little Girl (aged 4): What is it growing in this field, Miss Smith?

Governess: Oats, dear. Perhaps you have not heard of them before.

Little Girl (indignantly): Yes, I have. Oats for Women!

A NOTABLE WOMAN PAINTER.

Those who have an opportunity should visit the Public Art Galleries in Brighton between now and October 2nd. There are on view there a number of paintings by the late Miss Sarah Dodson, an American lady, who, although prevented from following art as a career, owing to her father's prejudices against the serious pursuit of art by women, until she was twenty-five, and subsequently handicapped by delicate health, attained a position in the art world through her inherent artistic power. "Under the conditions," says the *Brighton Herald*, "her powers could not have come to fullest fruition. These pictures have all the elements that mark the great painter: strong disciplined imagination; that rapt mystic vision that belongs to the inspired insight; that universality that belongs to the highest art, and in actual technique, the strongest and most finished handling. . . . She certainly knew something of life's handi-cup." It is noticeable that five years after commencing her art studies Miss Dodson exhibited in the Paris Salon the picture "L'Amour Ménétrier." A pathetic interest attaches to the painting of "The Annunciation," for which studies made in the woods at West Hothly are also exhibited, for Miss Dodson was working on this picture on the morning of the day of her death, January 8, 1906. The 62 pictures on view at Brighton are shortly going to America, the land of Miss Dodson's birth. She was born at Philadelphia in 1847. Her father was an engraver and miniature painter.

WOMAN'S SPHERE AGAIN.

Frau Adela Schreiber, a leading German suffragist, has written to the *Morgen Post* calling attention to the Kaiser's speech, in which, it will be remembered, he drew from the magnificent political work of Queen Louise of Prussia the extraordinarily illogical conclusion that women should stay at home. Frau Schreiber points out that nine million women work in Germany at the present moment, and that this figure represents half the number of women adults. It is, she says, sheer ignorance to believe that these women go to the workshop or office for pleasure only, and that they are induced to work by women creators. "The Kaiser's words show that the highest authorities of the State live out their lives in complete ignorance of the world. . . . they will not prevent women from continuing the fight and living out their lives for the benefit of the State."

Fran Cauer has been interviewed by the *New York Herald* with regard to the Kaiser's recent speech. She said that that part of it condemning women's political organisations is a direct refutation of a law which took effect in April, 1908, and to which the Kaiser as Chief Executive had to give his signature. This law gave women the same freedom of political organisation as men. Frau Breitscheid has also been interviewed by the same paper. "We scarcely know," she said, "whether to expend our compassion upon the Kaiser for his lack of knowledge of the women's movement, or whether to feel genuinely sorry for his Ministers for being so completely disavowed by their chief. The Government knows that thousands of women can have no home, no family, because they can barely make a living for themselves, and that by working from morning to night. . . . It seems the Kaiser is ignorant of the fact that half the adult women in Germany are by necessity working women. It is the woman, the educator of citizens, who must keep her heart and mind open to public opinion and the will of the people, of which the Kaiser spoke so contemptuously. This is our idea of woman's work, and, undisturbed by this expression of Royal opinion, the woman's movement of individual and organised expansion will follow the path pointed out for it by the progressive spirit of the age in which we live."

It is stated in the Press that the Kaiser's daughter, Princess Victoria Louise, has "made a pretty speech" to the Hussar regiment of which she is honorary colonel.

PRESS COMMENTS.

It is a singular fact that many of the newspapers which ignored the Suffragette movement before the Kaiser delivered his speech are now supporting the women's protest. The prophecy hinted at after the Kaiser delivered himself is being fulfilled. The number of self-avowed Suffragettes in Germany is increasing. And they mean to fight. The German Government now has another enemy besides that represented by the Social Democrats. The women are appealing to the independent political parties to show their disapproval of the speech by refusing to support the new Budget.

—The Throne.

JA JEWISS.

"Hoch der Kaiser! He's talking again. He says he holds his kingly commission from God. Also he says we (the women) should stay home and mind the 'kinder,' and not think ourselves smart enough to mix in public affairs. Also he says we should stay close by and teach the young to be good citizens. Well, some of us haven't any 'kinder,' but nevertheless we are convinced of the Kaiser's divine inspiration, for else how got he that sublime faith in the miraculous power of woman to teach the young how to take an intelligent and patriotic part in those things concerning which she knows—and ought to know—nothing. We wonder though why the Kaiser does not send his warriors to teach domestic science and his music professors to build his warships. Hoch der Kaiser!"

—The Current.



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JOTTINGS FROM A HEALTH VISITOR'S EXPERIENCE BOOK.

Some of the jottings in my experience book show very plainly the lack of the woman's point of view in the ordinary things of daily life. For instance, it is often stated that the reason why men receive higher wages than women is that, presumably, they have a wife and family to keep. But among those I visit it is frequently the case that out of a mere pittance the woman has to support not only herself but a husband and children! Moreover, she often does the very kind of work which the man has refused "because it is not his particular trade."

Here are a few from amongst many cases I have known:—Mrs. A. (50) suffering from heart disease, works for a mantle firm, and is paid 5½d. per coat (by working all day she can make four) and 8d. for coat and skirt. She supports her asthmatical husband, and a boy of 10; latterly also a son 23, who is hopelessly phthisical. Throughout her married life she has been the chief wage earner, the husband having been continually physically unfit. Of thirteen children, eight have died from phthisis.

Emily B. (20) supports an invalid mother and father at collar turning (1½d. per dozen).

Mrs. C. (64) works button holes for collars and is paid 5½d. per dozen (36 holes); she supports her husband.

Mary D. (42) worked for her brother (38), a phthisical cripple, for many years. Was a factory scrubber, receiving nine shillings per week, and half-starved herself. A very pathetic case—the brother and sister were the only two left out of a large family, and they clung together. Both had to go into the infirmary, the sister's health having completely broken down, and now she is in an asylum.

Mrs. E., phthisical, with a weak heart, had been an out-patient at Guy's. Though not in a fit condition, and needing medical treatment, she went to work. The husband, a strong, able-bodied man, had been living on his wife's earnings for six months; he said she could not go to the hospital because of the risk of losing her work—carrying messages at a factory, for which she was paid 8s. a week. The running about tried her and she frequently fainted. I suggested to the husband that he should ask to be allowed to do his wife's work for one day, so that she might see the doctor. He would not hear of this, and mumbled something about "woman's work." He expects his wife, in addition to her outside work, to keep the house clean and to wait on him.

Mrs. F., very poor, with three young children (one blind and physically unfit), left her husband after living with him ten years. During this time she had been brutally treated; frequently kicked by the man with his hob-nailed boots, and often he would stand over her with a carving-knife, threatening to kill her. Whenever he was out of work the woman had been the wage earner. On the last occasion this had been the case for about three months, when one day the husband had the audacity to bring home another woman who had one child and was expecting a second. He not only required his wife to support him and his children of whom she was the mother, but also to work for the other woman. This was more than she could endure, and at last her spirit was aroused. She had no redress, and she left him with her three little ones. For ten years this man had been the cause of suffering to many other poor women, but his wife had refused to believe evil of him until his mother and her own bitter experience revealed the truth to her. Some months later, when stricken down with illness, she took out a summons, and the man was ordered to make an allowance. He failed to comply, and she realised that by sending him to prison and causing him to lose his situation, she would derive no benefit whatever, and therefore she let the matter drop. Her own sister came forward to support her until she was fit for work.

Here is a case in which the woman's point of view was clearly needed on the magisterial bench:—Mr. G. is afflicted with periodical insanity; in the intervals he partially recovers, and the medical superintendent of the asylum sends him home to his wife and family, when he becomes the father of children. If women were governors and doctors in our asylums, I feel sure an attempt would be made to prevent this manufacture of the insane.

Mrs. H. is phthisical and too ill to work. Her husband deserted her with five dependent children. He was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, the guardians meanwhile making an allowance for the children but nothing for the mother. When the sentence expired he was ordered to pay a weekly sum to his wife, and out-relief for the family was stopped. The injustice to the wife is evident: the man, having lost a good situation by being sent to prison, refused to work for the support of the family whom he had deserted, doubtless preferring to be dependent on the State, and there is no alternative for this family but starvation or the workhouse. I would suggest that the Poor-law or police-court authorities should force the man to work and hand the earnings to the wife.

There is hard work ahead for the women who want to unravel the many tangled webs of life, and my faith and hope are centred in the power which is going to be placed in their hands through the Parliamentary vote. Such conditions as the above, which have their root in the supposed inferiority of women, will come to an end when women are recognised as human beings with a right to their own individual life. By having direct representation, and helping to frame the laws, they will rise to their responsibility, and I know there will be no shirking of duty. Because the stepping-stones to better conditions have been through suffering, women will be the more determined to use their power for good, and a happier time for humanity will begin when men and women work together for the well-being of the race.

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BOOK OF THE WEEK.

Comte and Woman.

"My theory of woman," says the High Priest of Humanity, "is the principal basis of Positivism," and this rather melancholy collection of letters and documents,* published by his desire, shows us that the theory was sustained. The correspondence tells the course of his love for Clotilde de Vaux during the year when he knew her, the last of her life; and then came the annual letters addressed to her after death.

Comte was forty-six and Mme. de Vaux thirty when they met. A man of his intellectual force and persistence could not but have great influence on a gifted and sympathetic young woman whom he loved; but her few allusions to his views show that the real Clotilde was neither goddess nor disciple. Her independence of mind appears in the manner of receiving a "philosophical letter on marriage." She apologises for founding her ideas of morality on feeling, and proposes to "pass over in silence everything of a systematic nature." Comte, with the strange dualism of those who set apart the sphere of moral influence for woman, acknowledged her standard as higher, without adopting it. Comte recognised the emotions as the direct force of morality in the case of women only. Men apparently were to spin moral ideas out of their brains, using the feminine heart as a useful corrective. He himself, after "laying the intellectual basis," proposes to "proceed to a social dogmatism, whose direct destination is before everything to systematise the essential feelings of our nature," and to "leave nothing arbitrary"—that is, nothing free. But "it is very natural," he writes to Clotilde, "and very fitting that you should set the form aside once for all, so as to occupy yourself with questions of feeling, for these alone are suited to your admirable talent. . . . I am happy in seeing it [the letter on marriage] so judiciously appreciated by you in the degree perfectly suitable to your sex and purpose."

Let us give the philosopher's sense of his lady's mission in his own words, though indeed the language is here rather more overwhelming than even Comte would have desired, the translator having apparently transcribed as many of the French words as possible instead of finding English for them. Thus Comte's devoted servant Sophie becomes an "eminent domestic."

"The growth of these feelings towards Clotilde," he says early in their acquaintance, "has become necessary to the full satisfaction of my moral being, which has hitherto been unduly stunted by the pressure of circumstances." "I rejoice in the happy coincidence of the sweet re-animation of my moral nature due to you with the dawning elaboration of my second great work. . . . I am so deeply imbued by this salutary reaction that I should not hesitate to address to you the public dedication of a work in which you have thus indirectly co-operated, if propriety did not prevent my making such an avowal. But, whoever may be the friends that I shall ultimately honour in this manner, a secret reservation will always direct the best part of my deep gratitude towards her who in reviving the spring of my tenderest feelings will have efficaciously helped forward my philosophic impulsion." "The growth of tender affections was necessary not only to secure my personal happiness, but also to give full energy to my social action." "I am perfectly convinced that this deep feeling cannot but procure my happiness by contributing . . . to the daily object of my whole private life, my own moral improvement." And in a still more practical vein, "It is to your salutary influence, my Clotilde, that I look for this inestimable amelioration, which should effectually put an end to the unjust aspersions of certain critics on the pretended want of proper unction in my style." "Another favourable reaction . . . should be briefly pointed out to you," that a mind "delightfully preoccupied with you . . . was not for a single moment troubled by any disturbing reflections" on a temporary want of money.

But as the short time passed, and Clotilde's illness became serious, the language of the letters changed somewhat.

"You, my adorable Clotilde, who have suffered so much, whom I should now be comforting for your long and many griefs. . . . 'I learn to enjoy you in yourself and not in myself. To know that you are in every respect quiet and happy constitutes more and more the main satisfaction of my life: even the happiness of helping this only comes after it.' Love almost transcends the 'steady conviction . . . that to become a perfect philosopher I needed before all things a passion both deep and pure, which should make me understand the affective aspect of Humanity.'"

But after death Clotilde slips back into an "affective" abstraction and her wraith is established on the pedestal she had declined. The philosopher, who did most earnestly desire to love, betakes himself to "systematising the affections." "Veneration" gradually "prevailing over attachment," Clotilde becomes the "patroness" and "the holy and habitual intermediary between Humanity and her Pontiff," who hopes to live long enough to "witness the beginning of the joint adoration reserved for us by the true Supreme Being." At last she is the declared object of universal worship, the best personification of Humanity. So with all women. Their mission—all women's mission—is only to love, and by love they are to correct others, especially philosophers; their motto is to be "Live for others"; their lives are to be entirely domestic; they are to do no work outside their homes; they are to be entirely supported by men, and prohibited from inheriting any property; they are to be literally and not metaphorically worshipped, with, according to the best example, kneelings and kissings of relics even in the lifetime of the divinity.

Readers at a distance may smile at the clumsiness of a philosophy centred in the philosopher's starved heart; but it was not so easy to smile for people who knew him. Looking at the portrait in this volume, one understands how some were carried the full length by the man's sad earnestness, by the greatness of some part of his ideas, by his firm faith in his own power to impose the very thoughts, words, and habits which were to regenerate mankind. Towards women there is nothing new in the pontifical attitude, though its meaning is not always quite so clear as in this case. Many potent, grave, and reverend men can define women's sphere with the same entire confidence. Lord

* Confessions and Testament of Auguste Comte and his correspondence with Clotilde de Vaux. Edited by Albert Compton. Liverpool: Henry Young and Sons. Price 3s. 6d.

Cromer, for instance, must be on the same terms with Nature as Comte with Humanity, since he is able to tell us that women fly in her face when they ask for the vote.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Moderne Jugend." By Dr. Kaethe Schirmacher. Munich: Ernst Reinhardt. 3 marks.
"Hibbert Journal." July. London: Williams and Norgate. 10s. per annum.
"A Modern Outlook." By J. A. Hobson. London: Herbert and Daniel. 5s. net.

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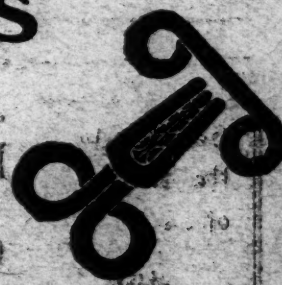
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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1910.

ANTI-GOVERNMENT POLICY.

If, when Parliament re-assembles, the Government still persist in their refusal of facilities for the Conciliation Bill, it will be for every Suffragist to determine her future attitude towards the Government.

To the Women's Social and Political Union a policy of opposition to the Government seems the only one which can possibly meet the needs of the case. As pursued at elections, the anti-Government policy consists in opposing the candidates of the Government responsible for denying votes to women. This opposition is founded, not upon a particular candidate's personal views on the Suffrage question, but entirely upon the action of the Government whose nominee he is. Simple and effective as is this policy of independent opposition, it has not yet found universal acceptance amongst Suffragists. What are the arguments used against it? One is that to oppose the Government is to give rein to a vindictive and bitter spirit, to the desire for retaliation for its own sake. There is, of course, no room in this movement for such motives, and those who pursue the anti-Government policy are perfectly free of them, their single aim being to overcome the one great obstacle to Woman Suffrage. Obviously, it is as fully consistent with good morals to oppose a Government as it is to oppose an individual Parliamentary candidate. Those who think it legitimate to work against the election of unofficial, and therefore comparatively unimportant anti-Suffragists, such as Mr. F. E. Smith, Mr. Hilaire Belloc, Sir J. D. Rees, and Mr. Arnold Ward, cannot logically condemn opposition to the present anti-Suffragist Government. When men politicians resolve to oppose the party in power no one dreams of objecting to their action on moral grounds; on the contrary they are assumed to be acting in defence of their political principles. We have it on the authority of Sir Alexander Acland-Hood that the Unionist Party will attempt this autumn to overthrow the Government, and the Labour Party make it quite plain to them that, failing the reversal of the Osborne decision, they care not how soon a General Election comes. Clearly, if men politicians are entitled to drive the Government from office, women politicians are equally entitled to do so. Indeed, the right of the people to dismiss an unsatisfactory Administration is at the root of our Constitution.

One hears it also urged that to get a Woman Suffrage Bill passed it suffices that the Suffrage

societies, leaving out of consideration the attitude of the Government, shall secure from a majority of private members pledges of their personal adherence to our cause. But, as we know, the Government assume the right to exercise a veto over legislation, and, therefore, to have the majority of the House of Commons in favour of a Woman Suffrage Bill is of no practical use so long as the Government refuse to allow the passage of such a Bill. Of course, if the Commons asserted themselves and compelled the Government to choose between retaining office and giving facilities to the Conciliation Bill, then the Bill would go through. If, however, Members of Parliament will not carry their support of the Bill to the point of voting against the Government in the House of Commons, then it becomes the duty of women to bring the necessary pressure to bear by working against the Government in the country. The fact that private members suffer defeat at the poll because of the shortcomings of their leaders will make the Government's followers in the House of Commons more eager than ever before to get the votes for women question settled.

There are some who hesitate for yet another reason to work against the present Government at elections. The alternative to a Liberal Government is a Conservative Government, and under a Conservative Government "our position as Suffragists," they argue, "will be no better and perhaps worse than it is under the present Liberal Government." Now this is an objection to which various answers may be made. The first and most obvious is that to exchange an anti-Suffrage Prime Minister, in the person of Mr. Asquith, for a pro-Suffrage Prime Minister, in the person of Mr. Balfour, could not fail to be of some advantage. The return of a Conservative Government would also mean the loss—hardly to be regretted—of "friends" of the type of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, for the Conservative anti-Suffragists are open foes, and consequently far less dangerous. It need not therefore be too readily assumed that the Conservatives in office would offer as strong a resistance to Women's Enfranchisement as the Liberals have done. Certainly it would be impossible for their conduct to be worse than that of the present Government. Of course, if the Conservative Government were to be as free from Suffragist pressure as some would allow the Liberal Government to be, they would not be likely to carry a Votes for Women Bill, but under a Conservative Government which refused to grant Woman Suffrage the anti-Government policy would be pursued as vigorously as ever.

This fear of displacing a Liberal by a Tory Government is one which Liberal wire-pullers foster most sedulously. To all who protest against the refusal of a Liberal Government to grant reforms, they retort "You would be worse off under a Tory Government." Now, this is utterly untrue, because to get nothing from the Tories is not any worse than to get nothing from the Liberals. Yet reformers have been kept quiet for years by the erroneous belief that injustice is more acceptable when it is done by Liberals than when it is done by Tories. It is obvious that if Suffragists refuse to attack a Liberal Government because they are not convinced that the Conservatives will do more for them, matters are brought to a deadlock. If each Government in turn were allowed to obstruct Woman Suffrage with impunity, because its predecessor has also obstructed it and because its successor may do so, then official Liberalism and official Conservatism, neither of them very eager for great changes in the political and social order, would find it easy to maintain for years an understanding to shut women out of citizenship. But if women, acting as an independent political force, with power to turn the balance of parties, resolve to attack one Government after another until justice is done, the politicians will be impelled to get rid of this disturbing factor by giving women the vote.

It is said, as though it were a counter-proposition to the anti-Government policy, that the way to influence a Government is through the electorate. Precisely, but how can the electorate exert any influence except by voting against the nominees of a Government whose policy is unsatisfactory? Thus Suffragist electors will vote against a Parliamentary candidate whose return would add power to a Government responsible for wrecking the Conciliation Bill.

The mere existence of a great force of public opinion favourable to women's enfranchisement will not of itself bring about legislation. This force must be applied in such a way as to compel the Government to legislate. The anti-Government election policy provides the means of so applying it.

Christabel Pankhurst.

THE MODERN WOMAN AND MOTHERHOOD.

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

In his recent collections of essays entitled "A Modern Outlook," Mr. J. A. Hobson devotes four short studies to the consideration of the modern woman, and of what he calls "The Woman's Movement." Of course, he believes that women ought to have the vote. It is necessary, he says, for women to obtain the "fullest educational and social opportunities to enter every sphere of industrial and professional work in which they can engage themselves. History teaches us that this full industrial equality is not obtainable for any race or class or sex deprived of equal political and civil rights."

At the same time he charges a certain section of feminists with failure to understand the supreme importance of the great creative work of women in the world, which is motherhood, and blames their persistent opposition to legal limitations which every civilised State sets upon certain conditions of women's industry.

Where in the whole range of the speeches and publications of the Suffrage Movement in this country does Mr. Hobson find evidence of any failure on the part of representative suffragists to realise the supreme importance of motherhood? In defence of this extraordinary charge he instances the writings of Mrs. Gilman, who, like many men social reformers, lays stress upon the utility of co-operative nurseries. This American authoress, like Mr. Hobson himself, is a brilliant analyst of the social conditions of the present time, and a daring theoriser; but like him she speaks for herself alone, and not in any sense as the exponent of an organised movement.

The most cursory glance at any of the publications of any of the Suffrage societies in our own country would supply ample proof that the chief concern of woman suffragists is the present terribly debased condition of motherhood, which is evidenced—to take one out of many results—by an appalling death-rate of infants in this country.

Men say a great many sentimental things about motherhood. That is their privilege. For in this matter men do the talking—women do the rest. But since it is women who take the pains and fulfil the conditions of motherhood, it is absurd to suppose that the interests of motherhood are not at least as safe in their hands as in the hands of men. One of the outcomes of the triumph of the Women's Movement in Australia (a country where the climatic conditions are much more unfavourable to infants than they are at home) is the reduction of a once high rate of infant mortality to the lowest rate in the civilised world, less than half our own. A study of facts will dissipate Mr. Hobson's fears and fancies with regard to the modern woman's tendency to underrate the importance of motherhood. They are based upon a lack of study and consequent ignorance of the real significance of the Women's Movement.

Is there more truth in his statement that we are "persistently opposed to legal limitations which every civilised State sets upon certain conditions of women's industry"? Suffragists oppose restrictions on women's labour so long as women are voteless. When women possess the vote, the question as to whether in this or that instance the labour of women shall be restricted by law can be settled on its merits, in precisely the same way as men's trade questions are settled after due consideration of the point of view held by those who are directly affected by the legislation under discussion.

A law restricting women's labour to-day is a law imposed by a ruling class upon a subject class. It is a law which has none of those checks and balances that result from a full consideration of all the interests affected by any new piece of legislation, and is in consequence an unjust and an oppressive law.

When a ruling class imposes legislation upon a subject class the legislation tends to be merely restrictive. "Thou shalt not" is much the easiest way of solving obtrusive difficulties and getting rid of harassing responsibilities of Government.

The exponents of the Woman's Movement oppose legislation restricting voteless women's labour because it is not constructive but only destructive legislation, because laws are being passed which shut women out of factories and out of certain trades without opening to them any new doors into life. When politicians are urging the restriction of married women's labour, it never seems to occur to them that if in the interest of the State the married woman is legally debarred from earning her living the State should give her some

security of maintenance in return. The woman's side of the question is never asked for, never heard, never considered.

Moreover, all the theories of Mr. Hobson and those men who talk so eloquently about the sacred duties of motherhood break down in the present social administration just where they might be carried out with the most obvious advantage, without any social or moral complications, and without any restrictive legislation at all. The working-class mother, who has given all her energy and all her time to her home and to her children, what is her fate when the wage-earner of the family dies? If the widow with her baby and other children to keep asks for assistance from the State in the form of maintenance, what is she told? The baby can go into the workhouse. She must go out and work to support herself and family. So the "sacredness of motherhood" goes to the wall. The State pays 15s. a week to the workhouse as the cost of the baby's maintenance, and the workhouse is certainly no better than Mrs. Gilman's co-operative nursery. And it sends the housekeeping, and thus unskilled and industrially defenceless mother out into the sweated labour market. Men with their lofty ideas of "maternal and domestic life" could reform the position of the widow to-morrow by constructive, not merely restrictive, legislation. That would do more than all their talk about curtailing married women's labour to convince women that their reverence for motherhood is genuine conviction, not superficial sentiment.

The objection of men to arbitrary interference with their labour is so comprehensible that it needs no explanation to a man of Mr. Hobson's democratic principles, but the objection of women on precisely the same grounds to arbitrary interference with their labour seems to be a blow to Mr. Hobson's conception of woman as she ought to be.

But the modern woman has had enough of government by bit and bridle. She demands government by the consent of the governed. And when she attains self-government, reformers will have to offer her schemes of positive, not simply and solely negative, reform. This may give reformers a little more trouble. It is not so easy in these days for benevolent persons to raise the working-men, since the working-men have won the power to raise themselves. The power to raise themselves; to work out their own salvation—that is what women want to-day; not to be protected by men with touching and beautiful ideas about "the great creative work of women, which is motherhood," but to have the power to protect themselves and make motherhood less of a blind terror and agony than it is in thousands and ten thousands of wretched homes in this so-called civilised country. Women to-day are crying for freedom; not for new patent shackles warranted harmless; not for more restrictions; not for more limitations set by their political masters. Not more government, but a due share of self-government is the demand of the modern woman.

BALLADE OF TRUE WOMANHOOD.

O Woman, with your winning ways,
Your little wiles, your waywardness,
Our worship is too deep for praise—
We love the ground your footsteps press,
Then shall we let you stand the stress
Of voting, as your men-folk do?
Ah no! It would be wickedness.
We have too much respect for you.

How shocking is your present craze
Your little mind can never guess;
Oh, check the dainty foot that strays
On such a path of foolishness!
You do not think with what distress
Your fall from modesty we view;
We would not have you charm us less,
We have too much respect for you.

Give us again the better days
When Woman was a name to bless,
When every thought of you would raise
A dream of sweet submissiveness;
Ah, do not force us to confess
So dear a dream has proved untrue!
We cannot think you merciless,
We have too much respect for you.

ENVOY.

What's this I hear? That you, Princess,
Have joined the W. S. P. U.?
I can't believe you'd thus transgress.
I have too much respect for you.

KENNETH RICHMOND.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

This week we record another line crossed, another task accomplished. In the last paper the Treasurer prophesied that by the enthusiasm of organisers and members this issue would see the completion of £75,000. As usual, organisers and members played up in W.S.P.U. style, and not only raised the required sum of £328, but £55 in addition, making a total for the week of over £382 and a grand total of over £75,055. We in this Union may well feel proud of those figures 75, denoting thousands and tens of thousands. What should we have said four years ago if anyone had told us that women, mostly professional and working women, women who, speaking generally, possess very little money that they can call their own, would actually put together such a fund as this? We should have said, "Impossible!" Nothing is impossible. We now look forward to the speedy completion of the £100,000 Fund, strong in the consciousness that we have accomplished three-quarters of the self-appointed task, and that far from feeling exhausted, we are just beginning thoroughly to enjoy the exercise of our combined forces. E. P. L.

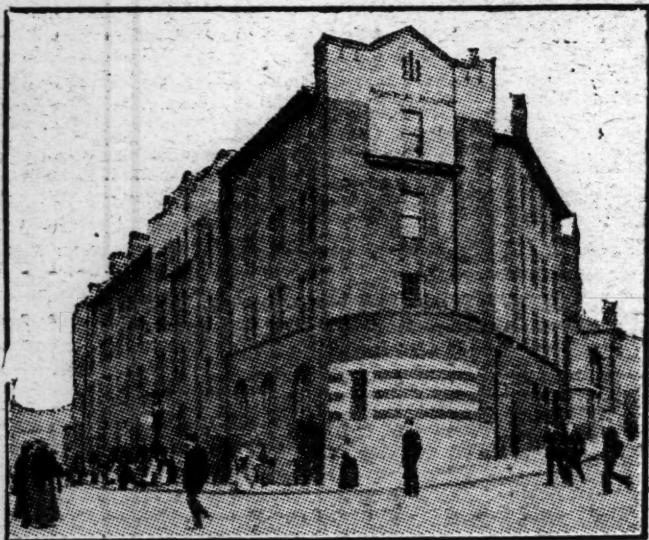
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND. September 12 to Sept. 17.

Already acknow- ledged	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Mrs. North	1 0 0	Mrs. Hewitt	0 1 6
A. B. Hunt, Esq.	0 5 0	Miss Allinson	0 0 8
Mrs. A. E. Hall	1 1 0	Miss Gill	0 0 8
Miss B. Batchelor	2 0 0	Miss Hanson	0 0 8
Miss C. C. Couper	0 5 0	Mrs. Jackson	0 1 0
"A Quiet Woman"	10 0 0	Miss Armes	0 2 0
"A Civil Servant"	15 0 0	Miss Davies	0 2 0
(Exam. fees)	1 10 0	Miss Kemp	0 2 0
Miss Bertha L. Kennett	0 10 0	Miss Hopwood	0 4 0
Mrs. Annie Blanche	0 10 0	Mrs. Hall	0 4 0
Miss Cascerley	0 5 9	Mrs. Glyde	0 1 0
Mrs. J. W. Brannon	10 10 0	Mrs. Bompas	0 5 0
Miss A. Edwards and Master M. Bretherton	0 3 0	Miss Hartland	0 2 6
Miss Caroline Downing	5 0 0	Anon	0 3 6
Miss A. King	0 1 0	Extra paid on "V. f. W."	0 0 2
"A Cowardly Sym- pathiser"	0 15 0	Miss Vera Dickinson	0 1 6
Miss Frances Graham	5 0 0	Miss Thirkill	0 2 0
Anon (per Miss N. Neave)	1 0 0	Miss Tacey	0 2 0
Miss H. R. Kerr	0 10 0	Mrs. Mullineaux	0 2 0
Young Purple, White & Green Club	0 10 6	Mrs. Newton	0 2 6
Mrs. Helen Whitten	0 5 0	Miss Newton	0 6 0
Miss B. Winfield	0 5 0	Miss N. Newton	0 2 8
Miss Janie Whittaker	0 7 0	Miss Symes	0 1 6
Miss Eva Mackenzie	1 1 0	Miss Roberts	0 4 0
Mrs. Laura B. Morgan	5 0 0	Miss F. Roberts	0 1 0
Brown	5 0 0	Miss Oliver	0 2 0
London City W.S.F.U. (per Miss Kerr)	19 0 0	Miss Urquhart	0 2 0
F. W. Pethick Law- rence, Esq.	100 0 0	Per Miss Robinson	
Miss O. Pankhurst	5 0 0	Miss F. Chapman	0 1 0
Extra paid on "V. f. W." (at Charing Cross Pitch)	0 5 3	Manchester Members per Mrs. Batcliffe	
Extra paid on "V. f. W." (per Mrs. Page)	0 2 0	Miss Toombs	0 3 0
Mrs. M. Solomon	2 2 0	Mrs. Smith	0 4 0
Mrs. Katherine E. Craig	3 3 0	Miss McDonald	0 1 0
Mrs. C. Howard Shaw	1 1 0	Miss Hebe Smith	0 1 0
i. Nahum, 7	1 0 0	Miss Clarice Smith	0 1 6
Per Miss Burns		Miss Tolson	0 10 0
For use of Telephone	0 1 0	Miss C. Tolson	0 10 0
Miss Lees	2 0 0	Mrs. Cohen	0 1 8
Miss Macdonald	0 1 6	Mrs. Fox	0 2 0
— Wright, Esq.	0 3 4	Miss Roberts	0 4 0
Extra paid on "V. f. W."	0 3 4	Mrs. Race	0 1 0
Per Misses Crocker and Roberts		Miss Wallwork	0 3 0
Miss Greenall	0 1 0	Miss Jessie Russell	0 0 6
"Gift for Hire of Orange Box"	0 1 0	Miss Rona Robinson	0 0 8
"For the Cause"	0 0 6	Miss Stott	0 0 6
Anon	3 10 0	Miss McCormack	0 0 6
Miss Hearn	0 11 0	Mrs. Yates	0 5 0
Miss N. Crocker	3 0 0	Mrs. Britton	0 2 0
Mrs. Lees	0 2 0	Mrs. Robinson	0 1 6
Mrs. Thorpe	3 2 0	Miss Allen	0 2 0
Rev. J. M. Lloyd	0 6 2	Mrs. Morris	0 1 8
Thomas	0 6 2	Mrs. Banks	0 1 8
Per Miss D. Evans		Mrs. Webster	0 5 0
Miss Richmond	0 5 0	Miss M. Banks	0 1 0
Miss Haly	0 5 5	Miss Grant	0 0 6
Miss M. Floyd	5 0 0	Mrs. Clegg	0 2 0
Mrs. Aldis	0 3 0	Mrs. Wilmot	0 2 0
Office Fund	0 8 9	Miss McGrath	0 0 8
Per Miss Plattman and Mrs. E. Hughes	0 6 6	Miss M. Webster	0 2 0
Lady Constance Lyt- ton	3 11 0	Miss E. Webster	0 2 0
Miss Geraldine Lyster	2 0 0	Miss Arensburg	0 1 8
Per Miss A. Kenney		Miss E. Arensburg	0 1 8
Miss Dorothy England	0 2 0	Miss A. Rose	0 2 0
Mrs. Falk	0 2 0	Miss Williamson	0 1 0
Miss Kenney's Expenses	0 17 8	Mrs. Edleston	0 1 0
Miss N. Walters	0 5 0	Miss Owen	0 2 0
Per Miss Macaulay		Mrs. Grey	0 1 0
Mrs. Purley	2 0 0	Nurse Griffin	0 1 0
Extra paid on "V. f. W."	0 0 10	Miss Ireland	0 1 6
Regatta Profits	0 7 0	Mrs. Williamson	0 1 8
Profit on Shop	1 9 0	Miss M. Williamson	0 0 6
Pound Stall Sales	0 14 0	Mrs. Campbell	0 2 0
Anon. (Four Friends)	0 1 2	Miss Whitaker	0 1 8
Dr. Annie Brunyate	0 7 6	Mrs. Batcliffe	0 2 0
Daniel Grove, Esq.	0 2 0	Miss Farvell	0 0 8
A. Hlyth, Esq.	0 0 7	Miss Hilda Russell	0 2 0
Per Miss Margaretson		Miss B. Pepper	0 1 0
Anon.	0 2 6	Miss E. Pepper	0 1 0
Profit on "V. f. W."	0 7 8	Miss Casper	0 0 6
Profit on Postcards	0 2 0	Mrs. Baumann	0 2 0
Mrs. Murray	1 0 0	Mrs. Longbottom	0 2 0
Mrs. Shaw	0 5 0	Mrs. Capper	0 1 0
Per Miss C. A. Marsh		Per Miss Roe	
Lieut. Cather, R.N.	1 0 0	Profit on Literature	2 16 6
W. Sutherland, Esq.	0 5 0	The Misses Blake	0 5 0
Proceeds of Jubilee Sale, for the Local Secretary	3 5 0	Miss Cooper	0 2 8
Per Miss M. Mills		Miss Guthrie	0 2 8
Profit on Literature	2 5 3	Anon	1 0 0
Sale of Furniture	1 11 0	Mrs. Arthur Turner	0 5 0
Miss M. Mills	0 2 6	Per the Woman's Press— Miss Kate Birnstingl	1 0 0
Per Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss U. Dugdale		For Lancashire Exhibition.	
Big Meeting (Pro- ceeds)	17 7 0	Per Miss D. Marsden	
Newcastle Meeting (Profit)	6 4 9	Mrs. Forrer (collected at At Home)	3 5 8
Per Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. V. Jones		Miss Harrison (col- lected at At Home)	0 15 0
A Friend	0 1 0	Mrs. Cairns	4 13 0
Dr. P. Macdonald	2 0 0	Harry Austin, Esq.	0 10 6
Proceeds of York Meeting	13 10 7	Mrs. Parr (collected at At Home)	6 2 6
Per Miss D. Pethick		Extra paid on "V. f. W."	0 13 2
Miss M. Draycott	0 4 0	Mrs. Saul Solomon	0 10 8
Miss Margaret S.	0 5 0	Miss Pallister	0 6 0
Wright	0 2 10	Miss O'Sullivan	1 0 0
Extra on Badges	0 13 2	Miss McKey	1 15 0
Profit on Shop	0 8 6	For Organiser.	
Profit on "V. f. W."	0 14 3	Mrs. Gillies	0 4 0
Miss D. Pethick	6 0 0	Miss Mary Regan	0 4 0
Per Miss Phillips		Sales in General Office	0 18 0
Miss Campbell	0 4 0	Membership Fees	2 13 0
Mrs. C. Child	0 4 0	Collections, etc.	
Mrs. J. Child	0 1 0	London	9 13 0
Mrs. Grew	0 0 6	Per Miss Burns	2 6 2
Notes—The subscriptions entered in last week's issue per Miss Marsden for Lancashire Exhibition were collected by Miss Abby.		Per Misses Crocker and Roberts	3 0 9
		Per Miss Evans	2 10 0
		Per Miss Plattman	10 7 1
		Per Miss Kenney	11 11 7
		Per Miss Macaulay	0 0 10
		Per Miss Margaretson	16 4 7
		Per Miss Marsden	1 7 0
		Per Miss Marsh	0 13 3
		Per Miss Pethick	2 8 7
		Per Miss Phillips	1 7 5
		Per Miss Robinson	0 2 8
		Total	£75,055 10 11

THE HOMELESS WOMAN.

It is one of the comfortable theories of the well-to-do and of the totally ignorant that there are very few women who would not have a home if it were not that they will go out into the world to earn their living, thereby forsaking their "natural protectors." Now, it is scarcely necessary in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* to point out that there are thousands and thousands of women toilers who are always on the brink of starvation. Let me explain exactly what I mean. An enormous number of women work in unskilled and sweated trades. They have to do so, as at present there seems to be no means by which women's work—or men's either in certain trades—can be prevented from "sweating," i.e. extreme underpayment. From this terribly sad state of things springs evil in every form, and so much was this realised in the case of men workers that years ago Lord Rowton founded the Lord Rowton Lodging Houses for men, where, for a small fee, a man down on his luck or a man working in one of the sweated industries can secure a night's fairly comfortable lodging. The scheme was not in any sense an entirely philanthropic effort, for it not only paid its way but brought in a substantial profit to its promoters.

It is a curious fact that the same people who thought it horrible for men to have no decent lodging to turn to if they were in low water, apparently thought that no such need for women's lodging houses existed. Yet, is it not obvious that if any choice were to be made in the matter, the women ought certainly to have been thought of, if not first, at all events simultaneously with the men? When



[By kind permission of the "Manchester Guardian,"

Ashton House, the New Municipal Lodging House for Women at Manchester.

Lord Rowton built his first Rowton House, at Vauxhall, it was his own private speculation, and so profitable did it prove that when the second was built, at Lambeth, many of his friends took shares. Lord Rowton used to take a friendly interest in his lodgers. He used to pay surprise visits, and put down his coppers and engage a bed for the night, mixing incognito with the human wrecks and curious flotsam and jetsam who drifted into his houses. It is quite a mistake to think that all the dossers are of the lowest class; a great many are merely of the class I have indicated: people whose wages are so low that a very few weeks out of work renders them homeless and in need of such a haven of refuge. As far back as 1894 Lord Rowton was asked by a friend in the lobby of the House of Lords if he had been to the Derby, and he replied, with his winning smile, "No, I have long given up such vanities. I spent the Derby Day up the East End considering the possibilities of a large lodging house for women."

I have heard it stated that the Duchesses of Portland and Bedford offered the sum of £30,000 between them for the establishment of a lodging house for women on the same lines as the Rowton Houses. This offer, however, was not accepted, for time went on, and for years these highly successful houses were opened for men and nothing of the sort was thought possible for women. This is odd, because anyone who has the most elementary notions of rescue work will tell you that the one thing any rescue home properly conducted tries to avoid is the classing together of what are termed preventive cases with rescue cases.

Now these same people apparently have never thought out what it means when a girl, hitherto absolutely respectable, comes to the bedrock of dire poverty; she has literally only one resource, the common lodging house, which, though under police supervision, is a den of iniquity.

Under the title "Where Shall She Live?" an excellent

book has lately appeared, written by the joint secretaries of the National Association for Women's Lodging Houses, Mary Higgs and Edward E. Hayward. It is a book which should in my opinion, be in the hands of everyone, for there is nobody who does not at some time or other come to see or hear of that most helpless and saddest of beings, a woman who has no real home.

MADELINE GREENWOOD.

A NATIONAL QUESTION.

From Mrs. Cope (formerly Sister Margaret) from whom we learnt that a conference on women's lodging-houses will be held in London on the 17th and 18th of next month, and who has devoted nearly seventeen years of her life to rescue and preventive work in London, we learned some appalling facts about common lodging-houses.

"From one of these places," said Mrs. Cope, "I fled at three o'clock in the morning in terror of my life. A country girl had told me a terrible story of how she was robbed there, and how, because she refused to drink, another lodger threw the drink over her in bed, and how she walked the streets all that night, hatless, bootless, and penniless, because she dared not stay. Her story was quite true."

"But what about working girls' homes? Surely a respectable woman can get a night's lodging there?"

"The superintendents are not allowed to take any girl in, even for one night, without a reference. The rule is to give them a shilling and send them to the 'Shelter for Women,' meaning, of course, the common lodging-house. It might be thought that one night, while inquiries are made, cannot

make much difference. One night only, in many—in fact, in most cases—means the beginning of a downward course. Hundreds of girls go on the streets because they cannot find a respectable lodging for one night."

"The one you spoke of must have been one of the worst?"

"I will tell you about another, one which is supposed to be among the best. It was under the supervision of the L.C.C., of course, and had all the newest sanitary arrangements. Notice-boards said, 'Loitering outside this house is prohibited,' and 'Lodgings for respectable women only.' I had often visited it on Sundays, and did not believe all the reports I had heard as to how it was conducted. I went disguised as a coster-woman. I saw there women whom I recognised as having started the sad life of sin in Piccadilly ten years before, one who was well known as a decoy. I saw some so degraded that one wondered if they could ever have been children, or how it was possible for them to have sunk so low—so low, indeed, that I who had known them when they had been just betrayed, could scarcely believe they were the same. The conversation and the drinking were appalling, yet into the midst of all this pollution came a pure girl of sixteen, brought by two brothers who were homeless, and were going to walk about all night. They had one sixpence, which they paid for their sister to be protected from the evils of the streets. What she heard and saw that night will ever live in her memory unless she has gone with the tide."

"Do you not think," we asked, "that women ought to have the vote so as to get to work on these terrible evils?"

"Yes, indeed, I am a convinced Suffragist. The question is a national one, and before any permanent good can be accomplished the nation will have to face it."

THE CONCILIATION BILL EXPLAINED.

AN IMPORTANT LEAFLET.

In view of the approach of the Autumn Session we direct the attention of our readers again to the valuable leaflet prepared by the Conciliation Committee, which can be obtained from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, price 9d. a hundred, 6s. a thousand, post free. This should be in the hands of every elector before November 15.

The text is as follows:—

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

THE CONCILIATION BILL EXPLAINED.

What is the Conciliation Bill?

An attempt to bring all political parties together in support of a moderate and practical plan for giving votes to women. The Bill was drafted by a committee of fifty M.P.'s representing all four parties in the House.

It has succeeded so well that, on July 12, it was carried on the second reading by a majority of 110—a larger majority than the Budget got.

Among those who voted for it were:

Mr. Birrell	Mr. Lyttelton	Mr. Devlin
Mr. John Burns	Mr. Wyndham	Mr. Healy
Sir Edward Grey	Mr. Barnes	Mr. Kettle
Mr. Haldane	Mr. Keir Hardie	Mr. W. Redmond
Mr. Balfour	Mr. Shackleton	
Mr. Bonar Law	Mr. Snowden	

Will it give Votes to all Women?

No! It will give votes only to women who pay rates and taxes (whether directly or as part of the rent). The women who already have votes for Town and County Councils will by this Bill have them for Parliament. There is no dangerous innovation here. It is common sense that a woman who can choose a county councillor can also choose an M.P.

What Women will get the Vote?

Chiefly women householders. A householder is a woman who occupies a dwelling-house, or part of a house over which she has full control, however small it may be, and however low its value. A duchess may get a vote for her palace, and a charwoman for her cottage, or even (if she has full control) for a single room. The few business women who occupy shops or offices worth £10 a year will also get the vote, precisely as men do.

Why are these Women Chosen?

Because they are the heads of households which at present are unrepresented. Every man who is the head of a house may qualify as a voter. These women have the same responsibilities as men householders. Most of them are widows, and many have children dependent on them. The rest are chiefly single women earning their own living.

What about Married Women?

A wife will not get the vote unless the house is rented in her name. But a woman will not be disqualified simply because she is married. This means that a sailor, a fisherman, or a commercial traveller, who is often away from home when the election comes on, may arrange to register his house in his wife's name, and so give her the vote. Thus every household will be represented.

How many Women will Get the Vote?

About one million in the three kingdoms.

Will it Stop There?

That depends on men. They will still be the vast majority of the electors. There are seven and a half millions of men voters.

Is the Bill fair to the Working Classes?

Well, the Labour Party thinks so. Mr. Shackleton intro-

duced it. Thirty-two Labour members voted for it, and only two against it.

Look at these figures.

In London 87 per cent. of the registered women occupiers are working women. Out of 189,000 no less than 30,000 are charwomen. (See *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, September, 1908).

In Bolton in 1904 the Liberal agent, Mr. Gerrard, found that 90 per cent. of the women occupiers are working women.

In fifty other towns the Independent Labour Party found that the average of working women is 82 per cent. Surely this is democratic enough.

On what grounds was the Bill opposed?

Some speakers in the debate objected to giving votes to any women. Others said that all women should be given the vote at once. Some objected to the Bill because a few married women will get votes. Others said every married woman should have a vote.

Our opponents are all at sixes and sevens. We know what we want.

All the women's societies, the Suffragists and the Suffragettes, the Women's Liberal Federation, the Conservative Franchise Association, and the Women's Co-operative Guild support this Bill.

Why has not the Bill been passed?

Because the Prime Minister refuses to give time. Yet Parliament has never had less to do than it has this session. There never is time for a women's Bill. Six Bills to give votes to women have passed their second reading since 1870, and none of them has been allowed to go further. Is this your notion of fair play?

Electors! Tell your member to insist

that the Government must give time for this Bill to be passed through all its stages in the autumn session.

The will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives must prevail. That is Mr. Asquith's own watchword.

Support the Bill

Because it is just.

Because it is moderate.

Because it is democratic.

Because women have the same need of the vote as men, to protect them against unjust laws and unfair taxes.

Because honest men are tired of seeing the question played with.

Because the women have earned success by their pluck and perseverance.

Here is the Text of the Bill.

1.—Every woman possessed of a household qualification, or of a ten pound occupation qualification, within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act (1884), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2.—For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County Division.

N.B.—In the second Clause is incorporated an amendment of which Mr. Shackleton has given notice in the name of the Conciliation Committee.

Copies of this Leaflet can be obtained from

THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 156, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.

Price 8d. per 100; 6s. per 1,000; Post Paid.

[We understand that a pamphlet is also being prepared by Mr. Brailford, and will be ready shortly, price 1d.]

BEAR IN MIND

that next week's issue of "Votes for Women" will contain an Article "Reasons Why we Wish for the Vote," specially contributed by Lady Selborne, President of the Conservative and Unionist Franchise Association.

HOLIDAY CAMPAIGNS.

Members are trooping back to work with redoubled energy for the passage of the Conciliation Bill. But a few are still away, and are working up to the very last selling the paper and gaining new friends for the Cause. Some accounts from various centres appear below.

BUXTON.

Miss Wilson, of Streatham, is doing splendid work in paper-selling. She sold four dozen in two days last week. This is an example others might follow.

GREAT MISSENDEN.

A splendid meeting was held at Missenden, when many representatives of several suffrage societies were present. Miss K. Raleigh took the chair, and the speakers were Miss G. Lees and Miss C. Herford, who addressed an interested and attentive audience. The speakers had selected a nice brick wall—one of the boundaries of the village green—for a background, when a door behind them opened, and a friendly sympathiser presented them with boxes to stand upon. At the close of the meeting many questions were asked, and several men took home Conciliation Bill leaflets, promising to study them.

HINDHEAD.

At the request of many students of the Hindhead Summer School, a Suffrage meeting was held during the course. Owing to the absence of "antis" prepared to speak, a debate was impossible, and the meeting took the form of five-minute speeches by students and friends from the Hindhead Hostel. Different aspects of the woman's movement were successively dealt with, such as the question from the economic point of view (greatly appreciated by an audience composed very largely of teachers, in whose profession the preferential treatment of men is so conspicuous), the progress of the movement in Holland, and the beneficial results of woman's enfranchisement in Australia (read by a woman voter). The meeting was organised by a member of the N.U.W.S.S. and of the N.W.S.P.U.; the publications of both societies found a ready sale.

ISLE OF WIGHT.

The campaign, which ended on Friday, has gained many new friends in the Island. The Reading members thank them heartily for kind hospitality and co-operation during the past fortnight.



Isle of Wight Campaigners.

PENZANCE.

A member, Miss Constance I. Craig, has been putting copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN in the shelters, on the tables in the Public Library, and in station waiting rooms. Whenever she went for a ride on her bicycle, or on excursions, she took a few copies with her, and either left them where she had lunch or tea, or gave them away as she passed through some little isolated village. She got to be known as "The Suffragette!"

SEAFORD.

"You have conquered Seaford," was repeatedly said to Mrs. Penn Gaskell and other workers, who have carried out a highly successful campaign here, and there were many cordial invitations to "Come again." Many new members have been made, and the sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN have been splendid.

SOUTHEND.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Haslock, St. Ursula, King's Road, Westcliff.

The Secretary will be glad if all members willing to help during the winter will call and see her, so that she may organise the work.

SOME PRESS COMMENTS.

Several papers published in the East have lately been received at Clements Inn, giving an emphatic denial to Mr. F. E. Smith's contention that the granting of the vote to English women will prejudice British rule in the eyes of Eastern nations. Here are two extracts:—

"THE HINDU."

The debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Shackleton's Women's Suffrage Bill may not possess much interest for India, but it is significant of the trend of false Imperial feeling largely prevalent in England that India and the East should be dragged in to support the help-

less arguments of those who could find nothing in reason for opposing Women's Suffrage. Mr. F. E. Smith . . . expressed the view that the Empire consisted of four hundred millions of people, of whom three hundred were "Orientals who detested Women's Suffrage."

It is sufficient to say to this that the presence of the small group of Indian ladies in the Suffragist demonstration on June 18 last showed that even before our politicians crying for self-government in India have secured the franchise for themselves they will have to make room in the polling booths for their women folk.

The main question of women's suffrage has passed beyond the stage of the academic discussion which the *Times* indulges in. The movement has been organised in a way which must be amazing to people in this part of India, where public spirit and sacrifice are at such a low ebb. All the money the organisers of the women's suffrage movement ask for flows like a steady river into their coffers. Never do they fail in any week to fill the two biggest halls in London with eager supporters, to say nothing of the hundreds of meetings that are held all over England. Women's share in the industrial and professional worlds grows every year more important, and there was no trade or profession in which women are engaged that was not represented in the demonstration on June 18 last. The collections in connection with that demonstration were phenomenal. . . . Equipped with such a well-filled purse, we may be sure the resolution adopted by the women on the day of the demonstration, "pledging themselves regardless of personal cost and sacrifice to push forward the campaign for the emancipation of women until victory be won," will not be allowed to remain idle.

"THE TIMES OF INDIA."

Nor can we see much point in Mr. Smith's objection that the Oriental peoples detest government by women. Oriental history has produced notable examples to the contrary. Nor have we ever seen evidence that the administration of Bhopal was detestable, because thrice it has been under the control of a woman. If they announced their real feelings, which their characteristic politeness compels them to disguise, Orientals would say that they preferred to be governed by women to government by old women.

THE MOVEMENT IN IRELAND.

"ULSTER GUARDIAN."

We would direct attention to an advertisement to be found elsewhere that Belfast is shortly to be favoured by a visit from Mrs. Pankhurst. When the history of woman's struggle for the vote comes to be written the name of Mrs. Pankhurst will figure most prominently on the roll of its heroines. We do not approve wholly of her methods, but we cannot fail to recognise the indomitable pluck and perseverance with which she has fought so long an uphill battle, the marvellous resource she has displayed, the generalship and strategy with which she has marshalled and directed her forces, and the enthusiasm which she has breathed into her followers. We believe in Women's Suffrage, but, whether we believed or not, we should think the opportunity of hearing the leader of the militant Suffragists an opportunity not to be neglected.

"BELFAST EVENING TELEGRAPH."

The sobering influence of experience has had this effect at least that we hear very little to-day of the inferiority of woman. Her claim to complete citizenship, however, has not, so far, secured general acceptance by any of the great political parties, although pressed with a vigour and persistency that should make for final success. Whatever we may think of the methods employed in emphasising and enforcing woman's claim to the exercise of the franchise, it is evident that the Suffragette movement is one that must be reckoned with.

MARCH ON!

Nothing can stop the onward march of women towards participation in opportunities of service in the various walks of life. It is only by contrasting the position of women forty years ago with that which they occupy to-day that an adequate idea can be obtained of the great advance they have made. They have had to fight; it is true, for every inch of the road they have won. Just as they are being opposed to-day in their demand for the vote by the prejudice and selfishness of men, so they have had to face hostility in their demand to be allowed to share in educational opportunities and to work in professions and occupations which men had monopolised. That work is not yet finished, but many of the bulwarks have been broken down. Medicine is a profession now open to women, but the doors of law are still barred against them. The latest masculine preserve to be thrown open to women is the delectable to the Wesleyan Conference. . . . It is significant of the trend of modern thought that such a conservative body as the Wesleyans should have adopted the proposed change. It is to be hoped that the women in the *Comexion* will take advantage of it.

—Christian Commonwealth.

They may be right or they may be wrong, but the fact cannot be denied that an overwhelming

majority of women teachers desire the suffrage for themselves and their sisters.

—Journal of Education.

There is a subtle Italian proverb, something to the effect that man roars and woman creeps. The militant Suffragettes have done their share of roaring within recent memory, but the insidious creeping has been going on all the time. Nothing is more impressive in the whole of the present remarkable feminist movement, than the slow patience and inexorable genius for taking infinite pains which have distinguished the ladies who have been campaigning on behalf of their voteless sex.

—Liverpool Courier.

It is worth noting that although the movement has many enemies and many who fear it, there are very few who now ridicule it. . . . It is now universally recognised that there is a real influence, a real power behind the movement.

—Christian Globe.

There is in existence a men's league for opposing woman suffrage. Many women support this league. The creed of this league is that womanhood suffrage would be against the best interests of the country. The worst thing we know against women is that they should have brought into the world the sort of men who started this league. Women will be enfranchised, notwithstanding all opposition.

—Cambrian News.

American papers, even some of those opposed to votes for women, are making fun of Mrs. Humphry Ward's latest article in the *London Times*. Her statements about the suffrage movement in America are so grotesquely inaccurate that, as the *Boston Daily Journal* says, they evidently were intended strictly "for home consumption."

—Woman's Journal (Boston).

OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—My wife, being treated as an outlander in her own country, has refused payment of taxes levied on her own professional income. For this she has already twice suffered distraint of her goods in enforcement of that levy. This, at any rate, would appear logical treatment for those in full possession of the rights of citizenship, the qualification for which is payment of taxes direct or indirect. On a third refusal, however, no suggestion of distraint is made, but I am informed that I am responsible for taxes levied on her income, while at the same time the law places all her property entirely beyond my control. That in itself is sufficiently illogical, but if it be a correct interpretation of existing law, then the distraints on my wife's property were clearly illegal. I cannot be responsible for her income which I may not touch, and she liable to distraint for what she is not obliged to pay. The logic of the market place grasps the fact that you cannot have your cake and eat it.

Yours faithfully,

E. WILKS.

REPRESENTATION AND TAXATION.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—The other day I was for the first time privileged to hear Lady Constance Lytton speak on the all-important subject of "Votes for Women." And I was much impressed by the clever way she dealt with the question. Why there is such an objection to women having a vote, and therefore a voice in their country's laws, I cannot for the life of me understand. It is so unfair! A woman owns a house; she pays rates and taxes on that house, and she pays an income tax, and soon she'll have to pay a land tax. She is clever, well educated, and studies politics herself. Nothing second hand for her, and yet she has no vote—sometimes not even a County Council vote. I happen to own the house I live in, and at our last County Council Election I had no vote, and on asking why, I found it was because I was the owner and not the tenant. I was both as a matter of fact. Then, when I insisted on being put on the voters' list, I was objected to on the grounds that I hadn't lived in the house for a whole twelve months. I replied that I hadn't stirred out of it for all the thirteen years it had been built. Compare all this with a man's qualification. As long as he rents something he has a vote. A drunken, illiterate labourer paying 4s. a week (rates included) for his cottage (more than likely his wife earns it) has a vote, and he sells it to the side which supplies him with most beer. I know of a village of about 600 inhabitants, the majority living in cottages. There are about 45 large houses in it, and out of that number 26 are owned or tenanted by ladies, who have, of course, no votes. Can you say that village is properly represented?

Yours, etc.,

INA WALLACE.

A correspondent in Mecklenburgh writes:—"I did not get your paper this week. Will you please be so kind as to see to it? I should miss my VOTES FOR WOMEN too much."

A BISHOP'S OPINION.

Mrs. Tuke has received from the Bishop of Lincoln the following striking testimonial to the value of Woman Suffrage. As Canon Hicks, of Manchester, the Bishop is well known for his championship of Woman Suffrage:—

"Of course, I am wholly in favour of Woman Suffrage; indeed, I regard the delay in conceding it as a danger to the commonwealth and a hindrance to other reforms."

FROM AUSTRALIA.

A W.S.P.U. member sends us extracts from a letter from a cousin in Melbourne. In the course of it the writer says:—"Having seen the Woman's Vote movement commence on this side of the globe and triumph after much opposition and abuse, I could not doubt but that slow moving Great Britain will enjoy some day the advantage of woman's influence at elections. As a returning officer, I can vouch for the order and good humour maintained since female voters use the ballot-box."

A SCIENTIST'S VIEWS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—I have been reading Mr. J. F. Nesbitt's book, "The Human Machine." "Sex," says Mr. Nesbitt, "presents a deep line of cleavage in the human species," and he affirms that "women are out of place in the administrative field, which embraces politics and all the wider forms of commercial enterprise!" He supports these sweeping statements by the assertion that "while men move from month to month along a pretty straight line, women are for ever on the slope of a curve and in a state of exaltation or depression: they are beings governed by sentiment more than reason, the victims of first impressions, prejudices, etc.," and, on these grounds utterly unfit for political emancipation. After carefully reading the above sentences, one is a little bewildered by coming across the following passages in a section treating of present political conditions:—"The determining influence in an election is not reason, but feeling. . . . The popular vote is usually given under a temporary impulse of some kind which has nothing to do with argument or even with right or wrong. . . . It may be doubted whether in a political contest reason is not the smallest of the influences at work. . . . Politics are a matter of feeling rather than of reason."

Have we not here fresh proof that the opponent of Woman's Suffrage, even when arguing from a so-called scientific standpoint, does not show as much as a bowing acquaintance with either logic or consistency? On this question there is absolutely no variation in the working of the Anti-Suffragist brain. This peculiar species of "Human Machine," monotonous in the exercise of its functions, works always in a groove, and grinds out baseless assertion, contradictory statement, and faulty reasoning.

Yours, etc.,

B. HAYES.

SYMPATHY FROM NEW ZEALAND.

The editor of a New Zealand paper litherto opposed to the militant tactics writes, in the course of a private letter to a friend in England: "I have withheld my sympathies from the militant branch, thinking that the measures we adopted in New Zealand were the best, but I can see that the statesmen of England are not prepared to deal with social reforms on a broad, comprehensive, or manly footing. It would therefore be necessary to again resort to militant methods in order to force Asquith's hand. So you can tell your girls that, if it pleases Providence to send me to England again, I shall stand shoulder to shoulder with them in a future campaign. And I was delighted to hear that Lady Stout and others of New Zealand had done their duty on July 18. That was a magnificent wake-up demonstration, and I hope to hear that it duly impressed the House of Commons."

A STREET INCIDENT.

Crowded thoroughfare. A W.S.P.U. member passing along sees a seller with VOTES FOR WOMEN. She buys a copy and passes on. A few paces off she sees a man selling flowers; she stops, asks him the price of his roses, buys a dozen, and whilst paying for them the following dialogue takes place:—

He (pointing to VOTES FOR WOMEN tucked under her arm): "I was glad to see you buying the paper, miss."

She (surprised): "Were you! Why?"

He (triumphantly): "'Cos I believes in them, I do! I've got my ticket for the Albert Hall meeting—a two shilling reserved one!"

PLANTING THE FLAG.

Dr. Cora Smith Eaton, who last year planted a "Votes for Women" flag on the summit of Mount Rainier, has this year carried the flag to the top of Glacier Peak, in the Cascade Mountains, Washington. This splendid peak, 10,436 feet high, is very inaccessible, and this is the first time in its history that a white woman has made the ascent. Dr. Eaton wrote "Votes for Women" after her name in the record book kept at the summit.

THE SUBJECT OF THE DAY.

In Greenwich, Connecticut, one of the oldest institutions of the community is the Farmers Picnic. Naturally agriculture is the subject generally discussed, but this year, says the *Woman's Journal* (Boston, America), the 4,000 people who gathered on August 24 were somewhat surprised to find that votes for women took the lead as the favourite subject of discussion!

"One black eye is not enough for a separation," Mr. Bagralay told a wife at Lambeth.—*Seaford Chronicle*

REPORTS FROM ORGANISERS.

Reports are coming in from all parts of the country telling of active preparations for the autumn's work. The following accounts not only show how varied this is, but also that every woman is needed. If you cannot speak at meetings, you can sell the paper, and, if you cannot even do this, you can help at the W.S.P.U. shop. There is work for all and plenty of it! *Every Suffragette must be a propagandist!* A good suggestion is: Always carry some membership cards with you, so that when a sympathiser says she would like to join she can do so at once.

General Offices: W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Members returning from holidays are asked to report themselves at their local offices as soon as possible after their return. They are reminded of Mr. Brailsford's appeal to them at the St. James's Hall meeting, when he asked the women to do all in their power to help the Conciliation Committee. Let no one think that there is nothing they can do in this most urgent work. Everything helps, and especially is it important that the circulation of the paper should be increased during the coming Session. Do not leave this to the devoted few who all through the year have given up every spare moment to take their stand in the streets, but come forward and give a definite time weekly, either for the poster parades, which start again on Friday, September 30, or for a definite pitch. The first poster parade must be a large and imposing one. This means that volunteers must come quickly forward. Be one of the first, and send in your name to Miss Ainsworth, Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Members who know of a good pitch for paper-selling are also asked to communicate with her. An announcement about the Speakers' Class will be found on page 834.

BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Mrs. Halsey, 45, Cambridge Mansions.

Mrs. Bartlett received a warm welcome on her re-appearance after her illness, and drew a good audience in the Park on Sunday. The attention of the crowd was most marked, and her references to some social conditions elicited assent and sympathy. Conciliation Bill leaflets were distributed by Miss Strong and Miss Grey, who thus brought people together and also reached many who stood aloof. Tickets (1s.) for the whistle drive to be held on Thursday, September 29, at Battersea Lower Town Hall at 7.30 p.m., may be obtained from Mrs. Strong, 83, Elspeth Road, Lavender Hill and Mrs. Hinton, 36, Dorothy Road, Lavender Hill. A special appeal is made to members living at a distance to be present. Battersea is not rich, but it is a splendid field for work. Funds are absolutely necessary. Rich friends are specially invited to come and cheer by their presence as well as financially; if this is impossible, a contribution towards the prize fund or better still, towards general expenses, will be gratefully received. Trams from Embankment and Victoria pass the Town Hall, and motor-bus 19 to Clapham Junction serves well.

CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM.

Office—34, Church Street, Camberwell.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Hafford, 54, Barry Road, East Dulwich.

The autumn campaign commenced on Sunday last, when Mrs. McKenzie addressed a large and sympathetic crowd on Peckham Rye. Will members please make a point of attending these meetings whenever possible. Volunteers are wanted for paper-selling; will those who can help in this way kindly send in their names to Miss Warwick, Ivydale, Surrey Road, Peckham Rye. Thanks to Miss Morrison for a donation of 5s. towards local expenses.

CHISWICK.

Hon. Sec.—Miss C. M. A. Coombes, 98, Sutton Court Road.

Arrangements are now complete for the dramatic performance by the Actresses' Franchise League on October 7 (see advt. column). Seats should be booked early, as the prices are low, and tickets are already selling. On Saturday members took the opportunity of selling the paper to the crowd assembled to see the Scouts' Review at Gunnersbury; all were sold out.

More workers are always wanted; will those who wish and have not yet joined the Union send their names to, or call at, 98, Sutton Court Road.

CROYDON.

Office—2, Station Buildings, West Croydon.
Tel. 969 Croydon (Nat.). Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Cameron-Swan, 79, Mayfield Road, Sandhurst, Surrey.

Members are requested to make the forthcoming Demonstration on Duppas Hill, on October 8, widely known among their friends, acquaintances, and tradespeople. Will all those who are willing to help by sandwiching, billing, collecting or selling papers please send their names to the Shop Secretary, who will also be glad to hear of any member who will display a window bill. Chalking parties will be wanted for the last week of September and first of October. Members can now obtain tickets for the Albert Hall meeting on November 10, from the Shop.

FOREST GATE.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Heanley, 329, High Street, East Ham.

Members and sympathisers are urgently wanted at the first out-door meeting of the season at Siebert Road next Friday evening, 8 p.m. For other meetings see programme.

HAMMERSMITH.

Shop and Office—100, Hammersmith Road.
Organising Sec.—Mrs. E. L. Butler.

The weekly At Homes will be resumed on Tuesday next, September 27, and it is hoped that all members will attend to hear plans for the autumn. Just now paper-sellers are urgently needed to assist Miss Van Sandau, who has worked so well during the holidays. Boxes for the Albert Hall meeting have been taken for local members, who can obtain tickets at the Shop.

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop and Office—89, Heath Street.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. A. B. Weaver, 11, Gainsborough Gardens, Hampstead Heath, N.W.

Mrs. Kenyon had an excellent meeting on Sunday morning, and was loudly applauded at the close of her address. The Secretary wishes to thank those members who have helped to keep the shop open during holidays. Paper-sellers and helpers for the autumn campaign are urgently needed. A desk, umbrella-stand and pegs are also required for the shop. A grand tier-box for the Albert Hall Demonstration on November 10 has been secured, seats 3s. each. Members wishing for tickets should apply at once, as the number is limited.

ILFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss E. C. Haglam, 68, Cranbrook Road. Saturday's meeting was well attended, and steady progress is being made in this district. Members have many fresh ideas for the autumn, and there is work for every one. All sympathisers should join at once. Subscriptions will be very welcome in view of the autumn campaign.

ISLINGTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss E. M. Casserley, 39, Church Crescent, Muswell Hill, N.

Thanks to Miss Agnes Kelly, who so kindly undertook to speak at Newington Green at very short notice on Sunday, in the absence of Mrs. Leigh. Open-air meetings continue to be crowded, and many questions are asked. Wednesday meetings will in future be held at Highbury Corner, and it is hoped, at Newington Green every Sunday evening. A volunteer is wanted to represent Islington at the Queen's Hall on Monday afternoons. The secretary will be glad to hear from any member who is free for this important and enjoyable task.

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2116 Western. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Eates, 7, Wrentham Avenue, Willesden, and Miss Morrison, B.A.

The first autumn At Home will be held on Wednesday, October 5, at 4 p.m., at 116, Oakwood Court (by kind permission of Mrs. Charles Kerr), when Mrs. Cecil Chapman will speak. Cards for this At Home may be obtained from the Shop. It is hoped that members will attend in large numbers and bring friends with them. Mrs. Denbise, 34, Elgin Crescent, W. is kindly housing the goods for the Jumble Sale. Parcel

of clothing, boots, crockery, hardware, etc., should be sent direct to her.

LAMBETH.

Organising Sec.—Miss Lenora Tyson, 37, Dremstead Road, Streatham.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bartels, 25, Acacia Grove, Dulwich. By the kindness of Mrs. Smith, the six lectures on great Englishwomen will be held at 57, Downton Avenue, Streatham Hill (Streatham and Norbury trams stop at the corner of Downton Avenue, which is close to Streatham Hill Railway Station). The lectures will take place on Tuesday evenings at 8 p.m. The first, on October 4, will be given by Miss Una Dugdale, on Mrs. Norton. Oct. 11, Miss Kathleen Jarvis: Charlotte Brontë; Oct. 18, Mrs. Bates: Warrior Women; Oct. 25, Mrs. Brailsford: Florence Nightingale; Nov. 1, Mrs. Lamartine Yates: Mary Wollstonecraft; Nov. 8, Mrs. Lorisignol: Josephine Butler. Tickets for the entire course (transferable) at 6s., or for single lectures at 1s. 6d., may be obtained from the hon. secretaries, or at 57, Downton Avenue, Streatham Hill, and it is hoped that members will endeavour to introduce new friends. A grand tier box has been taken for the Albert Hall meeting on Nov. 10, and a few tickets at 3s. still remain unsold, as also a small number of other tickets at 2s., 1s., and 6d. Members should apply at once. Miss Ida Locke for some time past has sold VOTES FOR WOMEN to tradespeople calling for orders, and last week attained a record sale of eight copies. Let no one say they cannot do something to help the cause! Miss Floris is thanked for her generous donation of 5s. towards the Office Fund.

LEWISHAM.

Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham. Shop hours, 2 to 8 p.m. Thursdays, 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bouvier, 32, Mount Pleasant Road.

Will members and friends please remember the general meeting to-day Friday, at 7.30 p.m., at Avenue Road, Lewisham, when the annual report will be read and Miss Decima Moore will speak and recite. Large and interested audiences listened to Mrs. Leigh and Mrs. Bouvier at Brockley on Saturday, and to Miss C. D. Townsend and Mrs. Bouvier on Hilly Fields on Sunday. VOTES FOR WOMEN found a ready sale, and a good collection was taken at the latter meeting. Tickets on sale or return and handbills for the Parish Hall meeting on October 18 (Speakers: Lady Constance Lytton and Mrs. Brailsford. Chair: Mrs. Hiscox) can be obtained at the Shop. Members can also have Grand Tier Box-seats for the Albert Hall Demonstration on November 10, price 3s. Gratefully acknowledged, Miss Grady 2s. and Miss Downing 1s., and thanks also to Miss Grady and Mrs. Llewellyn for some home-made sweets. Stewards for the Parish Hall meeting are requested to send in their names to Mrs. McKenzie at the Shop. Mrs. Glazier will be glad to hear of anyone willing to take charge of the Shop any morning 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. Parcels for the jumble sale will be most welcome.

N.W. ISLINGTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Clara Brown, 11, Gladamuir Road, Highbury.

Miss Bonwick addressed a very enthusiastic crowd at the Clock Tower on Saturday last. The supply of VOTES FOR WOMEN was sold out, and a good collection taken. Other open-air meetings were held on Wednesday

day and Friday. The tickets for two Albert Hall boxes having been disposed of, it is proposed to take a third box. Will those members who have not yet secured seats please send in their names to Miss Brown as soon as possible, so that a box adjoining those already taken can be secured. Tickets 3s.

N.W. LONDON.

Shop and Office—215, High Road Kilburn. Tel. 1183 Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell, 12, Nicoll Road, Willesden.

Business is very brisk at the shop. Members returning from holidays are asked to call as soon as possible and make their purchases from the many useful articles stocked. Out-door meetings are in full swing. On Sunday last a large and very sympathetic audience was addressed in Gladstone Park by Miss Phoebe Rickards and Mrs. Penn Gaskell. A resolution urging the Government to give facilities for the Conciliation Bill was passed by a large majority, the only dissentients being two men and a few small boys. Will members desiring seats for the Albert Hall meeting lose no time in booking tickets? Mrs. Cullen having for some months past been unfortunately prevented from acting as meetings organiser has now resigned, and Miss Auerbach and Miss Esther Hyams have been appointed joint organisers. Articles for a Jumble Sale will be gladly received.

PADDINGTON AND MARYLEBONE.

Shop and Office—50, Praed Street, W.
Hon. Sec.—Hon. Mrs. Haverfield.

The organiser has returned to work, and will be glad to welcome any members and friends to the shop. She hopes that all members have enjoyed their holidays as much as she has herself, and will return to work with renewed vigour and energy. Shop hours are: 10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. to 6 p.m.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM.

Shop—908, Fulham Road.

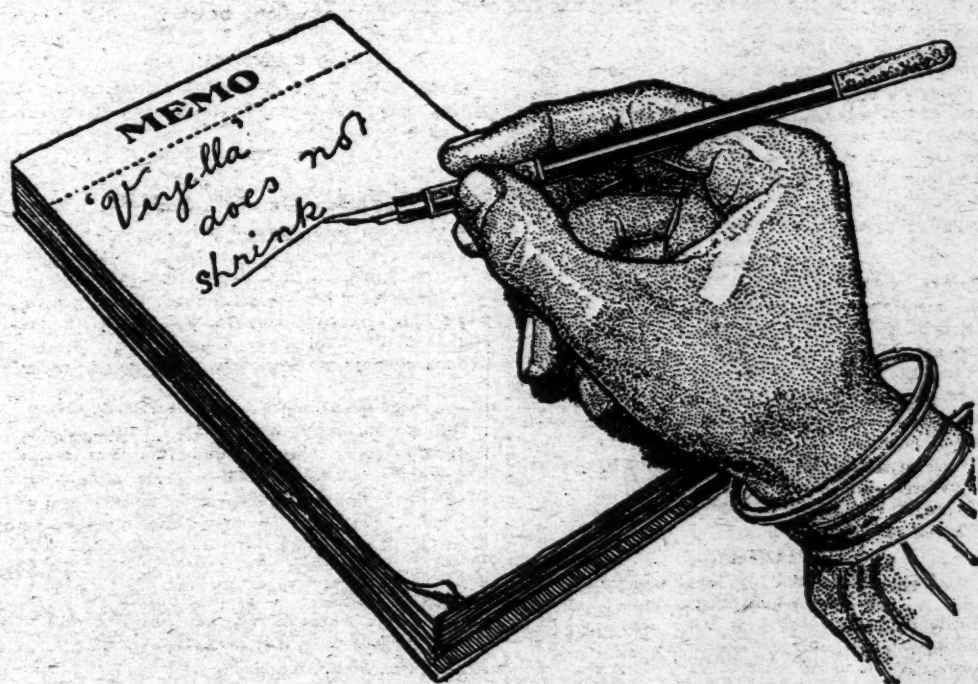
Hon. Secs.—Miss Cutten, 37, Parson's Green, S.W., and Mrs. H. Roberts.

It was quite a treat on Sunday afternoon to hear the applause which was given several times to Miss Naylor's masterful handling of the questions which a comparatively short while ago the Putney Heath crowd would not even have troubled to put. For the present the weekly meeting will be a mid-day one in Fulham, and an evening meeting (usually on Fridays) in Putney, and the Sunday afternoon meeting on the Heath. Will friends please support at least one meeting a week? Paper sales at both street pitches are increasing. Volunteers are responding splendidly to the appeal for sellers. Paper sellers should be at the shop at 6.45 on Fridays, and speakers and stewards half-an-hour before the advertised time of meetings. (Please see list.) Many thanks to the friends who have already sent in contributions for the Jumble Sale, and to Mrs. and Miss Shellshear for the jam and chutney made and sold on the shop premises. Shop sales are decidedly improving, and one welcome addition has been made to the guarantee fund. Thanks to Miss Lawrence for a donation of 5s. towards local expenses.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

September.					
Friday, 23	Croydon, Katharine Street	Miss Leslie Hall	8 p.m.		
" "	Forest Gate, Sebert Road	Mrs. Penn Gaskell, Miss L. Smith	8 p.m.		
" "	Harlesden, Manor Park Road	Miss Bonwick, Miss Kendall	8 p.m.		
" "	Hornsey Road, Seven Sisters Road	Miss McClelland, Miss Rickards	7.30 p.m.		
" "	Kensal Rise, Chevening Road	Miss Decima Moore	7.30 p.m.		
" "	Lewisham, Avenue House, Avenue Road, General Meeting		7.30 p.m.		
" "	Putney, Lower Richmond Road		7.30 p.m.		
" "	Wimbledon, 6, Victoria Crescent, Broadway	Members' Rally	4 p.m.		
Saturday, 24	Ilford, Balfour Road	Miss Bonwick	8 p.m.		
" "	Islington, Packington Street	Miss C. Maguire; Chair, Miss Casserley	8 p.m.		
" "	Kilburn, Messins Avenue		7.30 p.m.		
" "	Lewisham, Shop	Members' Rally	4.30 p.m.		
" "	Upper Holloway, St. John's Park	Miss Jacobs, Miss Hume	7.20 p.m.		
" "	Willesden Green Library	Miss Auerbach, Miss Wright	7.30 p.m.		
Sunday, 25	Brockwell Park		3 p.m.		
" "	Clapham Common	Mrs. Kenyon	3 p.m.		
" "	Croydon, Katharine Street	Miss E. Myers	8 p.m.		
" "	Hampstead, Jack Straw's Castle		11.30 a.m.		
" "	Hyde Park	Miss C. Marsh	3 p.m.		
" "	Islington, Newington Green	Miss Meacock	7 p.m.		
" "	Lewisham, Hilly Fields	Miss Nancy Lightman	3.30 p.m.		
" "	Peckham Rye		3 p.m.		
" "	Putney Heath		3.30 p.m.		
" "	Streatham Common	Miss E. Davison	3 p.m.		
" "	Wimbledon Common	Mrs. Bouvier	3 p.m.		
Monday, 26	Forest Gate, Barham Hall		8 p.m.		
Tuesday, 27	Croydon, Derby Road	Miss L. Hall	8 p.m.		
" "	Fulham, St. John's Ch., Walham Green		12 noon		
" "	Hampstead, Heath Street, The Fire Station		8 p.m.		
" "	100, Hammersmith Road	At Home	8 p.m.		
Wednesday, 28	Kilburn, Victoria Road		7.30 p.m.		
" "	Barkingside, the Horns	Miss Whitton, Miss Haslam	8 p.m.		
" "	Islington, Highbury Corner	Miss Gillett; Chair, Miss Gould	8 p.m.		
" "	Kilburn, Messins Avenue	Mrs. Penn Gaskell, Miss Casey	7.30 p.m.		
" "	Stroud Green, Hanley Road	Miss Margaret West, Miss Rose Barry	7.30 p.m.		
" "	Pinchley Road, Metropolitan Station		7 p.m.		
" "	Wallington		8 p.m.		
Thursday, 29	Brockley Road, Boston Corner	Miss Bonwick	7.30 p.m.		
" "	Catford, Tram Terminus	Mrs. Bouvier and others	7.30 p.m.		
" "	Croydon, Katharine Street		8 p.m.		
" "	East Ham, outside the Cock Hotel		8 p.m.		
" "	Putney, Montserrat Road		7.30 p.m.		
" "	Wimbledon, 6, Victoria Crescent, Broadway	Members' Rally	4 p.m.		

Thursday, November 10, Royal Albert Hall Meeting, 8 p.m.



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WIMBLEDON.
Shop: 5, Victoria Crescent, Broadway. Tel. 1022.
P.O. Wimbledon.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Lonsdale, 27, Merton Hall Road.
Work in this centre progresses well. Members do not mean to let Wimbledon forget the Suffragettes are amongst them. A large and sympathetic crowd listened to Mrs. Brailsford's able speech last Sunday, and Votes for Women sold well. Members returning from holiday are asked to report to the Chief Shop Steward for shop duty. When the At Homes begin again (October 7) it is hoped every member will show they have remembered the hon. treasurer's appeal at the last meeting of the previous series, to bring at least one new member to the weekly meeting, and to persuade at least three electors to write to the Government "triumvirate," urging them to give facilities for the immediate passing of the Conciliation Bill. Postcards of Mrs. Leigh in full uniform are on sale. Particulars of Jumble Sale will be published next week. Vegetarian members are specially invited to call at the shop this week.

Home Counties.

BEXHILL-ON-SEA.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Young, "Berbice," Sea Road, Bexhill.
New members have been found in a neighbouring village, and the sale of Votes for Women is increasing. More helpers are urgently needed.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT.

Office—3, North Street, Quadrant. Tel. 4883 (Nat.).
Organiser—Mrs. Clarke.

Very successful meetings have been held daily on the Front during the past fortnight. Many papers have been sold, and collections taken. On Thursday last Mrs. Kenyon spoke for the first time in Brighton, and gave a delightful address to a large crowd. On Saturday and Sunday Mrs. Drummond and Miss Vera Wentworth addressed meetings on the Front and at the Congress Hall. Miss Elmes, Miss Andrews, Mrs. Iris Cooper Ryder, and Mrs. Patrick also spoke excellently. Now is the time for new speakers to come forward. Mrs. McKewen, who has returned from Scotland, will take some of the meetings next week. Mrs. Clarke, who is at Eastbourne and St. Leonards working up Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's meetings on the 23rd and 28th, will be glad to have the names of visitors to these places who are willing to help. Names should be sent to her at 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne, and at 1, St. Paul's Place, St. Leonards.
Friday, Sept. 23.—Eastbourne, Town Hall, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Mansell Moullin, 8 p.m.
Saturday, Sept. 24.—Brighton, The Beach, 3.30 p.m.
Sunday, Sept. 25.—Brighton, The Beach, 3.30 p.m.
Wednesday, Sept. 28.—St. Leonards, Grand Concert Hall, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, 8 p.m.
Thursday, Sept. 29.—Brighton, The Beach, 3.30 p.m.
Friday, Sept. 30.—Brighton, The Beach, 3.30 p.m.

CANTERBURY AND EAST KENT.

Office—2, York Terrace, Ramsgate.
Organiser—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay.
As the district has expanded beyond the bounds of Thanet, a change of name has been rendered necessary, so that Folkestone, Dover, Walmer, Deal, Sandwich, and Herne Bay may be included. The autumn campaign will soon be in full swing. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence opened it at the Town Hall, Herne Bay, last Wednesday. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak at the Folkestone Town Hall on October 13, the fifth anniversary of her violent ejection from the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, for asking a political question at question-time at a public meeting, while Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at the Town Hall, Dover, on October 26. Mrs. Griffiths, who has done such splendid work at Folkestone, has left for South Africa, carrying with her hearty thanks and regrets. Miss Douglas and Miss Hewitt, too, have gone, and their valuable help in selling papers, etc., will be much missed. Workers returning from holidays are asked to give in their names at once to the organiser, who needs a great deal of help.

RAYLEIGH.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Warren, B.A., The White Cottage.
The meetings held in Rayleigh and surrounding districts by Miss Laura Ainsworth were much appreciated, and thanks are due to all those who worked so hard to make them the success they were. A meeting will be held on Tuesday, September 27, at the White Cottage, at 8 p.m., to discuss plans for winter work and other business. Will all members make an effort to be present, and bring any friends who are interested. Mrs. Warren will be pleased to give information concerning the movement to friends who are in doubt on any matter.

READING.

Shop and Office: 30, West Street.
Organiser—Miss Margesson.
During the organiser's absence all communications with regard to the work should be addressed to Mrs. Stansfield at the shop.

ROCHESTER AND CHATHAM.

Organiser: Miss Laura Ainsworth, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
A campaign has been started here, and a meeting will take place in Chatham Town Hall on Tuesday, October 4, at which Lady Constance Lytton will be chief speaker. She will be supported by local Liberal and Conservative women. Friends living in the neighbourhood are asked to communicate with the organiser for tickets and handbills. As this is a new district and expenses are heavy a subscription list has been opened. Contributions will be gladly received by Miss Ainsworth, at the above address. Sympathisers having friends in Rochester, Chatham, Maidstone, or Gravesend are asked to communicate with the organiser.
Friday, Sept. 23.—Chatham, outside Town Hall, 7.30 p.m.
Monday, Sept. 26.—Chatham, outside Town Hall, 7.30 p.m.
Tuesday, Sept. 27.—Strood Fair Ground, 7.30 p.m.
Thursday, Sept. 29.—Gillingham, outside Livingstone Arms, 7.30 p.m.
Friday, Sept. 30.—Chatham, outside Town Hall, 7.30 p.m.

The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Office—33, Paradise Street. Tel. 1443 Midland.
Organiser—Miss Dorothy Evans.
"Classes in Voice Production for Speakers and Inspiring Speakers" will be held fortnightly in the

Office, beginning Thursday, October 6. Instructress, Miss Gladys Dale. Preparations are being made for Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting in the Town Hall, Birmingham, on November 15, at 8 p.m. Members are asked to make this widely known.

Friday, Sept. 23.—Midland Institute. Miss Charlotte Marsh, Miss Gladys Hazel, 8 p.m.
Monday, Sept. 26.—Smethwick Town Hall. Miss Gladice Keovil, Miss Dorothy Evans, 8 p.m.
Friday, Sept. 30.—Queen's College. Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Gladice Keovil, 3 and 8 p.m.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Office—14, Bowling Green Street, Leicester.
Tel. 1713 Leicester.

Organisers.—Miss D. Pethick and Miss D. A. Bowker.
On Monday an active campaign is being started in Market Harborough, and the organisers mean to hold regular meetings in Melton Mowbray this winter. Will any who live or have friends in Hinckley, Lutterworth, or Ashby de la Zouch, communicate with them with a view to extending the work there? They would also be glad to hear from any friends in the villages near Leicester who would help to organise meetings, drawing-room or otherwise. Lady Constance Lytton when in Leicester received a letter from someone in Market Harborough who neither signed her name nor gave address. It is much hoped she will come to the meeting next Monday and make herself known to Miss Pethick. She would be welcomed as a member of the Union where she could be of great help to the cause for which she has such sympathy. Mrs. Brailsford's visit this week will be a great opportunity for members to bring friends. Let members have a full hall to show how much her return visit is appreciated. Tickets (1s. and 3s.) are now ready for Mrs. Lawrence's meeting on October 18 and can be obtained at the Shop. It is proposed to have a Christmas stall in the Shop during December. Will all members who can make saleable and dainty articles suitable for Christmas presents put their talents to good use during the months between now and then?

Saturday, Sept. 24.—Shop. Important Members' meeting, 8 p.m.
Monday, Sept. 26.—Market Harborough. Mrs. Brailsford, Miss Pethick, 4 to 6 p.m.
Tuesday, Sept. 27.—Leicester, New Walk Sunday School Memorial Hall. Mrs. Brailsford, 4 to 6 p.m.
Thursday, Sept. 29.—Market Square. Open-air meeting, 8 p.m.

NOTTINGHAM.

Office—6, Carlton Street. Tel. 4511.
Organisers.—Miss Crocker and Miss Roberts.
The visit of Lady Constance Lytton has made a great impression here, and will have given an impetus to the weekly At Homes to follow. Will members keep Wednesday evenings free, and especially that of the coming week, when Mrs. Brailsford will speak? Members willing to get up open-air or drawing-room meetings in outlying districts, or to secure openings for debates or lectures during the coming season, are asked to write or see the organisers. They will be glad to hear that Miss Christabel Pankhurst has promised to speak in Nottingham in November.
Friday, Sept. 23.—Bulwell, Market Place.
Tuesday, Sept. 27.—Mansfield, Market Place.
Wednesday, Sept. 28.—Morley's Café. Mrs. Brailsford, 8 p.m.

STOURBRIDGE.

Organiser: Miss Dorothy Evans, 33, Paradise Street, Birmingham.
Wednesday, Sept. 28.—Corn Exchange. Miss C. E. Dugdale, Miss Gladice Keovil, 8 p.m.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

Hon. Organiser: Miss Bertha Ryland, 3 Chestnut Walk.
Thursday, Sept. 29.—Corn Exchange. Miss Gladys Hazel, Miss Gladice Keovil, 8 p.m.

WOLVERHAMPTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Helen Boswell, 117, Dunstall Road.
Tuesday, Sept. 27.—Povey's Café. Miss Gladice Keovil, 7.30 p.m.

West of England.

BRISTOL AND DISTRICT.

Office—27, Queen's Road, Clifton. Tel. 1345.
Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney.
On Wednesday last a keen and enthusiastic meeting was held in Newquay, with Miss Margaret West in the chair, and Miss Kenney as speaker. Over £3 was taken in a collection after everyone had paid for admittance. The audience fully appreciated and applauded the resolve to adopt militant tactics in the Autumn Session if the Government proves obstinate and stands in the way of the passage of the Conciliation Bill. Will all members and sympathisers round Newquay write to Miss Annie Kenney? The first At Home of the season will be held on Monday, October 3, Victoria Rooms, 3.30. Speaker: Rev. J. Ivory Cripps, of Swindon. Mr. Pethick Lawrence has kindly promised to visit the West of England on October 20, 21 and 22; further particulars next week. The organiser makes a very urgent appeal for paper sellers. Will members respond, even if they are only able to give one or two hours every week? This is most important.
Saturday, Sept. 24.—Whitley Hall, Reception. Miss Decima Moore, Mr. Cuthbert Hicks, 3.30 p.m.
Monday, Sept. 26.—Castle Cary. Mrs. Cameron-Swan, Miss Kenney, 7.30 p.m.
Tuesday, Sept. 27.—Whitley Hall, Lady Constance Lytton, 3.30 p.m. Special meeting for members and prospective members only, to meet Lady Constance Lytton, 8 p.m.
Wednesday, Sept. 28.—Shepton Mallet. Mrs. Cameron-Swan, Miss Kenney, 7.30 p.m.
Thursday, Sept. 29.—Swindon. Mrs. Cameron-Swan, Miss Kenney.

BATH.

Organiser—Mrs. Mansel, Bayford Lodge, Wincanton.
Shop—12, Walcott Street, Bath.

A splendid bit of news for workers: Mrs. Pankhurst has promised to speak at Bath on Thursday, October 27. This will be about a fortnight before Parliament reassembles, just when the autumn campaign will be at its hottest and when a visit from her will be of the greatest possible help. The shop-opening on the 14th was a great help, and in spite of pouring rain there was a good attendance of enthusiastic workers. Miss Perkins, of New York, gave a very delightful speech, in which, having outlined the objects of the Union in general, and of the shop in particular, she referred to the militant worker as making the appeal of personal suffering and personal pain and courage—an appeal to which the world would sooner or later listen. Bath suffragettes have much valued Miss Perkins' work, and are once more inspiringly reminded of the international character of the movement. Mrs. Richards, Secretary of the Oxford Local Union, also spoke. A good collection was taken. Very sympathetic notices appeared in

the Bath Chronicle and the Bath Herald. Preparations for Lady Constance Lytton's meeting will be actively carried forward from now until the 28th.

Wednesday, Sept. 28. Guildhall. Lady Constance Lytton, 8 p.m.

CORNWALL.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Powell, Roseligh, Penzance.
Organiser: Miss Edith Williams, Glanafon, Devoran, R.S.O.

Will any members and sympathisers in Cornwall please communicate with the hon. sec. if they can arrange drawing-room or other meetings for Miss Marie Brackenbury, who will visit Cornwall early in October. Miss Williams would be especially glad to hear from anyone at Falmouth who could help.

PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON.

Organiser—Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 21, King Street, Southsea.

Splendid meetings were held at Portsmouth every night last week, when the help of Mrs. Cather, a well-known Portsmouth member, was greatly appreciated. She is now unfortunately leaving the district, but the Organiser hopes that members will realise what a loss this is, and will work with redoubled energy. A Jumble Sale will be held shortly, for which contributions will be gratefully received by Miss Peacock, 7, Craneswater Avenue, Portsmouth.

Southampton was also visited last week, when two fine meetings were held, and the speakers very well received. Good collections were taken, and the paper sold excellently. Mrs. Shaw and Miss Kennedy were the chairmen. Members are grateful to Mr. McMahon and Mr. Kennedy for their help at meetings; also to Mr. Sutherland for 5s., and to Lieutenant Cather for £1 towards campaign expenses. Funds must be raised in both towns to meet the cost of the campaign. Contributions should be sent to Miss Marsh at the above address.

Monday, Sept. 26.—Portsmouth, Unicorn Gate, 12.30 p.m.
Tuesday, Sept. 27.—Portsmouth, Fratton Bridge, 8 p.m.
Wednesday, Sept. 28.—Portsmouth, Town Hall Square, 8 p.m.
Thursday, Sept. 29.—Southampton, Floating Bridge Road, 7.30 p.m.
Friday, Sept. 30.—Southampton, Docks Gate, 1.30 p.m.
Friday, Sept. 30.—Southampton, Asylum Green, 7.30 p.m.

WILTS.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Gladys Davies, Oare, Pewsey, Wilts.

During the next few weeks Wilts members are concentrating in Devizes, Chippenham, Calne, and Warminster. As meetings will be held in these places in the coming month, will all friends and sympathisers living within reach make it a point of honour to help in these towns. At present there are no funds in hand, and as money is badly needed will all who cannot take part in working up these meetings find themselves and send the money along? If all members and sympathisers would raise themselves at, say, a penny, twopenny, or even sixpence a week, there would be no need to worry about finances.

Eastern Counties

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 19, Silent Street, Ipswich.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Spencer King, 31, Russell Road, Ipswich.
Shop—4a, Princes Street, Ipswich.
A special indoor campaign is being planned for Ipswich and the surrounding district, culminating in

a big ticket meeting in the Public Hall (Ipswich), on Wednesday, November 2, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Pankhurst will be the speaker with Mrs. Mansel in the chair. (Tickets 2s. numbered and reserved, 1s., 6d., and 3d., are on sale at the shop.) In order that this shall be the largest and most representative meeting yet held in Ipswich, it is necessary that a number of drawing-room meetings should be arranged, and the organiser asks all who can give any assistance in this way to write to her during the week. Arrangements are also being made for meetings to be held in Felixstowe, Woodbridge, Stowmarket, Lowestoft, Yarmouth, Manningtree and other places. Members and friends are asked to keep Monday afternoons free on October 3, 10, 17, 24, and 31, as a course of lectures is being arranged on "Great English Women" (transferable tickets for course of five lectures, 5s. 6d. Single lecture, 1s. 6d. on sale at the Shop). Full details next week.

North-Eastern Counties.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford.

Invitation cards are now out for Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's At Home in the Midland Hotel on October 5. If anyone interested is overlooked and does not receive one, will she (or he) please apply to Mrs. Hardy Behrens, 2, Salborne Grove, Bradford? The campaign during October, which it is hoped will be on an extensive scale, and for which helpers of all kinds are wanted, will be directed towards working up a big meeting in St. George's Hall on Sunday evening, November 6. It is of vital importance that every man and woman in Bradford should know of this meeting, so that it may be packed, and the resolution calling upon the Government to carry the Bill during the Autumn Session receive overwhelming support. This demonstration will, it is hoped, greatly strengthen the position of the Conciliation Committee. Further particulars shortly.

HARROGATE.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Bertha N. Graham, 16, Cornwall Road.

Friday, September 23.—The Stray. Miss Hughes, Miss Mary Phillips, 3 p.m.
Friday, September 30.—The Stray, 3 p.m.

ILKLEY.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 19, Trafalgar Road.

Warmest thanks to the Misses Thompson for the very successful drawing-room meeting held at their house last Friday, at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence won many converts. The open-air meetings are being continued every Monday at the Bandstand, and are excellently reported in the local papers. The Town Council authorities have very kindly allowed the chairs to remain, though the Band performances are over, especially for the accommodation of the audience. Last week the unexpected appearance of Mrs. Lamartine Yates was very welcome, and she delighted the audience by her clever and racy speech. Members are eagerly looking forward to welcoming Mrs. Pethick Lawrence publicly in Ilkley on October 4. Already tickets are selling, and great interest is being aroused. Tickets, 1s. 6d. (reserved), 1s., and 6d., may be had at above address. More stewards are still wanted, though several have already volunteered. If any members or friends can follow Miss Thompson's example and lend their drawing-rooms for meetings



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HEAL & SON
TOTTENHAM COURT RD., W.

speakers will be provided. They should communicate with the organiser.
Monday, Sept. 26.—The Bandstand, Miss Mary Phillips, 3 p.m.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—17, Blackett Street.
Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 201, Westgate Road.
Blyth, Ponteland, Tynemouth, Seaton Sluice, and Cullercoats have been visited this week for propaganda work and meetings. Mrs. Atkinson and Miss Nora Ball had a splendid first meeting at Seaton Sluice, and sold many papers. At Tynemouth, the organiser and Miss Clissie Wilcox had a most encouraging reception. The organiser hopes to hold fortnightly meetings there during the autumn. Mr. Craig, the member of Parliament, is an anti-Suffragist, and his constituency must therefore receive special attention from the W.S.P.U. It is very gratifying to find that a keen and growing interest in Women's Suffrage is being shown by the co-operative women. Thanks to Mrs. Atkinson for generously providing tea for the Saturday afternoon sewing party, and to Miss Violet Taylor and Mrs. Bell for flowers to be sold in the shop.
Saturday, Sept. 24.—Corbridge. Propaganda week.
Sunday, Sept. 25.—Rosedale Street Mission Hall. Men's Adult Class, Miss Williams, 9 a.m.
Tuesday, Sept. 27.—Blyth, Market Place. Mrs. Atkinson, Miss Williams, 7 p.m.
Wednesday, Sept. 28.—77, Blackett Street. At Homes, Miss Williams and others, 3 to 5, 7.30 to 9 p.m.
Thursday, Sept. 29.—Tynemouth, The Fountain, 7 p.m.

SCARBOROUGH.

Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Suffield, 33, Barwick Street.
Hon. Treas.—Dr. Marlen Mackenzie, 7, The Valley, Scarborough.

A vigorous campaign has been going on here during the last week, members going over to Bridlington and Malton to chalk Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Adela Pankhurst's meetings. The inhabitants of Malton were amazed to waken up and find their streets chalked all over and—"Look up!" chalked under all the posters advertising the meetings on the hoardings. On Friday the Adult School was filled and an ante-room had to be thrown open for the overflow. Mrs. Brindley and Dr. Mackenzie had two meetings on Saturday, a specially good one in the evening. Miss M. Piper will be much missed from Scarborough, as she is a most energetic member. Members hope shortly to have a visit from Miss Cicely Hamilton (author of "Diana of Dobson's") and Miss Edith Craig, in the "Waxworks" and "Pot and Kettle."

Saturday, Sept. 24.—Españade, Mrs. Brindley, Dr. Mackenzie, 3.30 p.m.; Aquarium Top, Mrs. Brindley, Dr. Mackenzie, 8 p.m.
Monday, Sept. 26.—North Cliff, Mrs. Brindley, Dr. Mackenzie, 3.30 p.m.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 45, Marlborough Road, Sheffield. Tel.: Broomhill 449.

Promises for the Bazaar are coming in rapidly. Miss Edith Irons is organising a cake and candy sale for October 1, at 45, Marlborough Road. Lady Constance Lytton and Mrs. Scourfield will speak in the Montgomery Hall on October 26. Tickets: 2s. 6d., 1s. and 6d., at 45, Marlborough Road.

YORK.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Coultate, 68, Nunthorpe Road. Hon. Treas.—Miss Violet Key-Jones, Hawthorne Lodge, Bishopthorpe.

A brief report of the very successful meeting on September 14 will be found on page 824. The Press has given very good reports. Miss Key Jones, Mrs. Coultate, and the Misses Suffield are to be congratulated on the success of the meeting.

BRIDLINGTON.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence also spoke to a large and appreciative audience in the Temperance Hall. The Rev. Dr. Pride, rector of Bridlington, took the chair. Mrs. Lawrence converted the whole audience in a magnificent address. A good collection was taken and many members made.

North-Western Counties.

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT.

Central Office—164, Oxford Road, Manchester. Tel.: 3621 City.

Organisers—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Rosa Robinson.

Excellent open-air meetings have been held during the week in Stalybridge, Hyde, Ashton, etc., by Miss Mabel Capper and others, in preparation for the great demonstration in Ashton-under-Lyne on Sunday next at 3.30 p.m. Will members willing to steward please send in their names at once? In connection with the Southport Exhibition, Mrs. Smith, president of the baby linen stall, has arranged to have working parties at her house, "Selwood," Bramhall Lane, Davenport, every Thursday from 3 to 5 p.m. and from 6 to 9; she extends a cordial invitation to all members and friends in Stockport and district. In addition to the jumble sale (Manchester, end of October), Mrs. Yates, of Oakenhurst, Hale, is arranging one in Hale Road Wesleyan Schools on Saturday, October 8; proceeds for the Exhibition Fund. Will friends in this district send parcels to Mrs. Yates as soon as possible. Parcels for the Manchester Jumble Sale should be sent to 164, Oxford Road, and it will save much time and trouble if friends will price each article before sending. Further offers of drawing-rooms for meetings are wanted; speakers will

be sent to anyone willing to arrange. Weekly At Homes commence in the Onward Hall, Friday, October 7.
Friday, Sept. 23.—Denton, Market Place, 7.30 p.m.
Saturday, Sept. 24.—Geo Cross, Market Place, 7 p.m.
Sunday, Sept. 25.—Ashton-under-Lyne, Market Place. Demonstration, 3.30 p.m.
Monday, Sept. 26.—Kilowfield, Mesley Road, 7.30 p.m.
Tuesday, Sept. 27.—Stockport, Armoury Square, 7.30 p.m.
Wednesday, Sept. 28.—164, Oxford Road. "Militants" Club. Miss Annie Rose, 8 p.m.
Thursday, Sept. 29.—Broadheath, Navigation Lane, 7.30 p.m.
Friday, Sept. 30.—Whitefield, Moss Lane, 7.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL AND CHESHIRE.

Office—28, Barry Street. Tel. 3761 Royal.
Organiser—Miss S. Ada Flatman.
Rhyll, North Wales, Post Office.

The holiday campaign terminated with magnificent meetings at Rhyll. Mrs. Lawrence, who joined the Union during the campaign, has kindly promised goods for the Exhibition Stall, and already given a donation. Miss Taylor and Miss Tudor, who have been splendid in their attendance and help at the meetings, have undertaken to canvass shopkeepers of Rhyll for contributions for the Exhibition Stall. A successful meeting was also held at Prestatyn. All over North Wales meetings have been very successful, and the sympathy and support of the Welsh very marked. The paper has sold well. A very busy winter season has started in Liverpool. Miss Corson, who has come as assistant organiser, will be in charge of the Exhibition arrangements. In addition to this, Mrs. Pankhurst has promised to visit Liverpool in October, and Lady Constance Lytton in November, and meetings must be arranged. So members will have to give all the help they can to make the next few months' work a conspicuous success. For the present meetings will be held every Tuesday evening at the office at 8 p.m., when members can discuss the coming events while doing work for the Exhibition. It is hoped that all will come.
Saturday, Sept. 24.—New Brighton Beach, Miss Flatman, 6.30 p.m.

BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem.): Miss Jessie Crompton, 68, Hildon St., Bolton.

The treasurer makes an urgent appeal to all members for subscriptions to the fund. There is much to be done, and any sum, however small, will be gratefully received. Tickets (1s. 6d.) for the Whist Drive now on sale.

Wednesday, Sept. 28.—Bradford Street, Spiritual Hall. Whist Drive; Hostess, Mrs. B. Farrington, 7 p.m.
Friday, Sept. 30.—Talbot's Restaurant, At Home, 7.30 p.m.

PRESTON, ST. ANNE'S-ON-THA-SEA AND DISTRICT.

Organisers—Mrs. Rigby, 41, Glover's Court, Preston; Miss Johnson, the Hydro, Lytham.

Members are requested to note that there will be a Social at 41, Glover's Court, on Thursday, September 29. Programme arranged by Miss Patt e Mayor. The sewing meetings continue to be held on Monday afternoons from 3 to 5. A further appeal for gifts or material is made as members are able and willing to work, but find it difficult to give money.

SOUTHPORT.

Office—13, Nevill Street.
Organiser—Miss Dora Marsden.

Friends and workers are specially asked to bear in mind the visit of Mr. Ewel and Miss Kenmore, who will appear in an Ibsen play at the Cambridge Hall, on the afternoon of October 8. The most must be made of this generous offer, and members are urged to secure a splendid audience. Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak in the Cambridge Hall early in October. Details will be given next week. The bazaar work is spreading like a net. Every day brings in new workers and fresh offers of help. In connection with the advertisements for the programme the organisers acknowledge the energetic work of Mrs. Langton, Mrs. Porter, Mrs. Horspath Wood, Mrs. Kay, Mrs. Grompton, and Miss Alice Forrer. A special suffragette birthday-book is being compiled by Mrs. Thomas. Friends are asked to send suitable quotations, accompanied by 1s. Please send early. Shillings appropriated to the Guarantee Fund. Lady Harborton has kindly consented to become a patron of the Bazaar, and has also given a handsome donation to the Manchester stalls.

Scotland.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.

Office—8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street.
Organiser—Miss Lucy Burns. Tel.: 6182 Central.

A very well attended At Home was held last Thursday, when Miss Barbara Wylie's lively and instructive speech was much appreciated. Members are urged to interest new friends and bring them to the meetings. The office looks nice and fresh with its new paper, and special thanks are due to Miss H. Filshill and Miss B. C. Haig for their work as painters! The outdoor campaign is carried on with vigour. Members willing to act as "chair" would be welcome, and they will find themselves rewarded by many amusing or touching experiences. At Haddington a poor widow woman remarked to one of the speakers who was busily chalking, "Well, you are a brick!" Members are reminded of the Jumble Sale in October, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst's visit in November.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Shop and Office—802, Sanchiehall Street.
Tel.: 618, Charing Cross.
Organiser—Miss Barbara Wylie.

The interest aroused at the first At Home by Miss Paterson's brilliant and moving address on the "Social

Evolution of Woman" was so keen that she was there and then bound over to repeat it at a later date. Mrs. Chapin, of the Actresses' Franchise League, kindly hurried up from the theatre where she is now appearing and made a short but stirring appeal to the militant women to relax none of their efforts to secure the victory which is now in sight. The organiser hopes each member will make it a point of honour to bring a fresh visitor to the meetings at least every other week during the winter. This week being a public holiday there will be no At Home. Will those who wish to join the Speakers' Class let Miss Wylie know if it will suit them to hold the class immediately after the At Home? It has been suggested that this would be agreeable to those who live in the suburbs. The shop is much glorified by a new signboard, the handsome gift of Mr. Laurence Henderson. Members are most grateful, and are now more shop-proud than ever. Thanks to Miss Melville, who took charge of the shop during Miss Christie's absence, to Miss Underwood, whose return has sent up the sale of the paper with a bound; and to Mrs. White for further contributions of jam and cakes. Miss Graham sallied forth on Friday for the first time so near home to sell the paper in the street. She met with such immediate success that her effort must be repeated.

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN IN NORWOOD.

Organiser: Miss Helen Craggs.

Office: 110, Norwood Road.

The campaign in Norwood opened on Saturday with a members' meeting. The object of the campaign is to canvass the residents of the constituency with a view to obtaining signatures to a memorial asking for facilities for the Women's Bill. In each of the 11 wards agents have been appointed to take special charge of the district. This canvass is a most important piece of work, and in order that it should be thoroughly carried out, a large body of canvassers is necessary. It is, therefore, hoped that everyone who possibly can will give some time to the work. It will greatly assist the organiser if volunteers will write and say what time, and on which days, they are coming. The headquarters at 110, Norwood Road, are open from 10.30 a.m. Miss Craggs will be there the greater part of the day, and all communications should be sent to her at that address. Will any helpers who can give just a few hours call at the office? It has been suggested that friends who cannot help should send a subscription towards the rent of the shop and incidental expenditure.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Elocution Mistress, Miss Rosa Leo, 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W.

Secretary, Miss Hale, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

The public classes for speakers which, through the kindness of the Misses Brackenbury, were held during the spring and early summer in their studio, recommence to-day, Friday, September 23, in Room 72, 4, Clements Inn, and will be held every succeeding Friday at 7.45 p.m. Will members please note this change of address. Miss Rosa Leo, who kindly gives her services as Elocution Mistress, has been very pleased with the progress that the Speakers' Class has already made, and hopes to turn out a great many new speakers during the winter. The following special rules have now been drawn up.

RULES.

1. Members of the Union only are eligible.
 2. The class will be held now at 4, Clements Inn, Room 72, every Friday at 7.45 p.m. sharp.
 3. Entrance fee to be 3d. weekly, the proceeds to be used for the purchase of educational literature.
 4. Members are limited to ten classes, which must run consecutively, and it must be clearly understood that these classes are open to intending speakers only.
- By kind permission of Mrs. Ayrton the private classes will now be held at 41, Norfolk Square, Hyde Park, and will begin on Tuesday, the 27th inst., at 7.45 p.m. These classes will be held every succeeding Tuesday at the same time, and also every Saturday afternoon at 4 p.m. The terms for these are one guinea, payable in advance, for a course of ten lessons, and members desirous of joining should send in their names at once to Miss Rosa Leo, 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W.

A seller of VOTES FOR WOMEN, who has been actively at work in Whitby, writes that she came in touch with people of all sorts, and that by far the largest number were in favour of votes for women. She sold the paper to English people, Australians, and to a lady working among women in Spain, all of whom were ardent Suffragists.

"HARD ON THE SUFFRAGETTES."

The Penge Urban District Council are, we understand, agitating for a bye-law prohibiting the defacing of footpaths by writing or other marks, and the Kent County Council are circulating Urban District Councils in the county asking if they have a similar desire for such a prohibition. "It is rather hard on the Suffragettes," said Councillor Page. The *Herne Bay Press* comments thus: "Ardent male politicians have also adopted this means of propaganda at election time, and now they will have to invent some other scheme of publicity. So ingenious and clever are these ladies who want the vote, so enterprising and enthusiastic, that we rather expect them to be first in the field."

Both the Sandgate and Cheriton Councils have this week passed resolutions in favour of a bye-law being passed to prohibit the writing of names and the placing of other marks upon the pavements. Perhaps in view of the misdirected zeal of the militant Suffragettes it is desirable to give local authorities greater power in this matter. . . . If one person or section of people be allowed to chalk what they like on the pathways, then others must be conceded the same privilege, and if the practice were generally resorted to a town could soon be made hideous. But if a prohibitive bye-law be put into force, what about the children's "hop scotch"?

—Folkestone Herald.

If you believe in women's activities take VOTES FOR WOMEN, it will increase your faith. If you don't, take it any way; it will increase your knowledge. Send 6s. 6d. for one year's subscription (8s. 8d. if abroad), to the Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

A case which proves the Suffragist contention that the estimation in which women are held, and the commercial value put upon their work are based merely upon the fact that they are women, comes from Australia, where the daughter of an English Army man, Miss Margaret Bale, has been successfully earning her living for about a year as a man, in various callings. Another English girl, Miss Langley, who went to New York, states that while there she was obliged to adopt male dress in order to earn her living in peace and to avoid the unwelcome attentions of a certain type of man.

"If your uncle had been your aunt, what would have happened?" said the Hon. Uncle Joe. Thanks: that nicely expresses the mental attitude of some of us recently, when two Southern political candidates met in joint debate to thresh out some political issues, but forgot all about the political issues and fell to threshing each other around the platform. The Associated Press sent out a tēline notice of this episode. Just suppose those "debaters" had been aunts instead of uncles!

—The Courier.

At an Anti-suffrage meeting recently the secretaries stated that they much regretted the absence of friends and supporters on the Anti-suffrage side to encourage their efforts and ask questions at suffrage meetings!



Readers will be interested in the accompanying photograph of the car in which Miss Thompson, a member of the W.S.P.U., won a race in the Motor Gymkhana during the Bournemouth Centenary Fêtes, particulars of which were given in a recent issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Eastbourne has been interested in a number of lady sandwich-board carriers. It was quite startling to visitors and residents alike to see several young ladies parading the town between pairs of boards on which was the announcement of a Suffragette meeting. Each carries a Japanese sunshade, while the boards are decorated with the Suffragette colours. Their appearance in the principal streets and on the parades naturally excites a considerable amount of interest. Lady sandwich-board carriers are quite a novelty at Eastbourne.

—Sussex Daily News.

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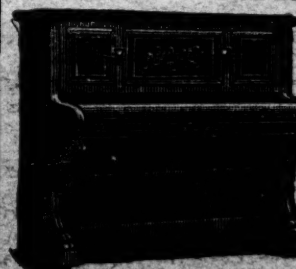
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MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Offices: 18, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Telephone: City 3104.

Hon. Organising Sec., Victor D. Duval.

This union has secured six boxes for the Albert Hall meeting on November 10, and the Literature Secretary will be pleased to reserve seats, 2s. 6d. each, upon hearing from members. Copies of the leaflet "The Conciliation Bill Explained" can be obtained from the offices at 9d. per 100, or 6s. per 1,000. Men desirous of assisting the cause in their locality should write to the Organising Secretary, who will be pleased to tell them how they can help. The following donations towards the £1,000 Campaign Fund have been received, and we appeal once again to all those who are anxious that this union should be fully equipped for the autumn struggle to help us in this respect:—Amount already acknowledged, £141 15s. 2d.; J. W. Clayton, 1s. 6d.; Miss Bertha Brewster, 5s.; Hugh A. Franklin, £1 1s.; Misses Florence and Beatrice Sotherton, £5 5s.; membership fees, 2s.; total, £148 9s. 8d.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

A very well-attended meeting was organised by Mrs. Kington Parkes, for the New Constitutional Society, at the Town Hall, Leek, on Thursday afternoon, September 15. Mrs. Pagan and Mrs. Beith were the speakers, and Mrs. Kington Parkes took the chair. As the feeling up to the present in Leek has been, if not actually antagonistic, entirely indifferent to the importance of the woman's movement, Mrs. Pagan is all the more to be congratulated on the immense interest and enthusiasm she aroused by her sympathetic and eloquent address. Mrs. Beith spoke on behalf of the Society, and moved the resolution: "That this meeting calls upon the Government to afford facilities during the ensuing Session for passing the Conciliation Bill for Women's Suffrage." This was carried unanimously.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The Bishop of Lincoln (Canon Hicks of Manchester) has consented to become President of the League. At the first monthly conference of London clergy belonging to the League (see below), the subject for discussion will be "The Relation of the Clergy to the Woman Movement," introduced by Rev. F. M. Green, vicar of St. Mark's, Tollington Park. A committee room has been engaged at 10, Emmanuel Street, Cambridge, for the Church Congress Campaign, and will be open daily from September 26 to 30, under the charge of Miss Susan Burnett. Open-air meetings will be organised by Miss F. M. Canning.

CHURCH LEAGUE MEETINGS.

September 26.—Hendon, Dr. Letitia Fairfield, 8.15 p.m.
Royston.
September 27.—Ely.
September 28.—Newmarket.
September 29.—Cambridge. Chairman: Rev. A. S. Duncan Jones, Fellow and Lecturer, Caius.
October 4.—Clergy Conference, 11, St. Mark's Crescent, 7 p.m.
October 11.—Hove Town Hall.
October 20.—Anerley Town Hall, Lady Constance Lytton, 8.

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

A preliminary meeting of this League will be held, by kind permission of Mr. Albert Dawson, at the office of the Christian Commonwealth, 133, Salisbury Square, E.C., on Wednesday, October 5, at 3 p.m. Free Church friends of the movement are cordially invited by Miss Jane Strickland, Miss Hatty Baker, and L. E. Turquand.

PAGEANT AT MIDDLESBROUGH.

"The Pageant of Great Women" which has roused so much interest in the suffrage cause wherever it has been performed, is to be given at the Opera House, Middlesbrough, on October 3. It is under the direction of Miss Cleary Hamilton (the author), Mrs. Schofield Coates, and Miss Edith Craig.

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

Open-air meetings in Dublin are still in full swing, and attract large and intelligent crowds. The announcement of Mrs. Pankhurst's visit is everywhere received with sympathetic interest. The open-air meetings at Bray, Kingstown, and Phoenix Park will be continued until October 2. The City Hall in Cork has been engaged for October 3; this is the first large suffrage meeting to take place in Cork for many years, and it is being looked forward to with keen interest. Those living in or near the city willing to help either with the meeting or with advertising are asked to communicate with Miss Day, Myrtle Hill House, Cork. The meeting in Dublin will be held in the Palace Skating Rink, Rathmines, at 8 p.m. Tickets, reserved, 3s.; unreserved, 2s. and 1s. Bookings at Pigott's, Cramer's, and at the offices of the Irish Women's Franchise League, Antient Concert Buildings, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin. In Dundalk, Mrs. Crossie, Roden Place, will be glad to hear from sympathisers offering help or hospitality for the meeting on the 5th in the Town Hall. Arrangements for Belfast and Derry will be announced later, and a list of Mrs. Pankhurst's meetings will be found on page 824.

The "Votes for Women" movement has many enthusiastic adherents at Herne Bay, where there is a strong branch of the Women's Social and Political Union. Whatever may be one's opinion on the burning question of "Votes for Women," it is universally acknowledged to be a most momentous subject. Fair-minded people, whether for or against it, will desire to hear the best to be said in its favour, and the opportunity for doing this should not be missed.

—Herne Bay Press.

A very large proportion of the work in connection with the Army Pageant of 1910 was done by women. This included preparation of dresses, banners and designs, organising, ticket selling, and taking charge of telephone boxes in the grounds.

The Thomas Beecham Opera Season will open at Covent Garden on October 1, when the majority of the operas will be sung in English. A number of old favourites are included in the repertoire, as well as many novelties.

A private Jujitsu Demonstration for ladies only is being given by Madame Garrud at her school, 31, Golden Square, Regent Street, W., on Saturday, September 24, at 3.30 p.m. Tickets are free to those sending an addressed envelope to Mrs. Garrud.

The attention of our readers is drawn to a Suffrage Fair to be held at 1, Pembroke Cottages, Kensington, on October 21 and 22. Tickets, 6d. each, can be had from members of the Suffrage Atelier.

Open-air speakers and others will always look tidy and neat if they use the "Tidy-Wear" hair net. Invisible, it yet keeps the hair in place without trouble.

Robinson, Brown, of Macclesfield, announce their new autumn collection of dress materials, silks, blouse fabrics, etc. A fine selection of patterns will be sent post free to any reader applying to Dept. 24, The Royal Silk Warehouse, Macclesfield.

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